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VERTOOGH

VAN

NIEU NEDERLAND,

AND

BREEDEN RAEDT

VAN DE

VEREENICHDE NEDERLANDSCHE PROVINTIEN.

TWO RARE TRACTS, PRINTED IN 1649—'50.

RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS IN NEW NETHERLAND.

Translated from the Dutch

BY

HENRY C. MURPHY.

NEW YORK:

1854.

ONLY 125 COPIES PRINTED.

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TO

PETER FORCE, ESQ.,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED FOR HIS SERVICES TO THE

HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY, AND FROM

PERSONAL ESTEEM.

PREFACE.

The two tracts of which translations are now presented, relate to the same period in the history of the government of New Netherland. The "Vertoogh" was first written, though the "Breeden Raedt" was printed a year before it. They are both composed, in bad temper, against the government of the West India Company and its officers; but the Breeden Raedt is particularly coarse and calumnious, though affording us some facts not known from any other source. It was unquestionably written by Cornelis Melyn, or under his dictation. This may be inferred, not only from the fact that it was printed at Antwerp, the place of his nativity, and where he probably resorted to on his return to Holland, but from the great stress which the principal interlocutor in the dialogue lays upon his case. The design is palpably to revenge himself upon Stuyvesant for his judgment and sentence against him.

The translation of the Vertoogh has already appeared in print, in the volume of the Collections of the New York Historical Society printed in 1849; but it has been deemed desirable by Mr. Lenox to preserve it in its present form, in uniformity with the "Voyages of De Vries," already printed, and with other translations which may hereafter similarly appear, of rare pamphlets relating to New Netherland.

The map now reproduced, dates somewhat later than the tracts. It appeared originally in a pamphlet, published at Middleburgh in 1666 (and the same year at the Hague, though the copy printed there, now before us, is without the map), in answer to the reply of Sir George Downing, English embassador at the Hague, to the remarks of the deputies of the States

General, in a memoir delivered by them in 1664. At the end of this pamphlet, there is an appendix of "various matters concerning New Netherland, to wit: the boundaries; extracts from several documents in regard to disputes with the English, both upon Long Island and elsewhere; the proceedings of John Scott; and the conquest of New Amsterdam, &c., all in New Netherland;" and the map is there inserted.

The title of the "Broad-Advice," is "BREEDEN-RAEDT AENDE VEREENICHDE NEDERLANDSCHE PROVINTIEN. GELRELAND, HOLLAND, ZEELAND, UTRECHT, VRIESLAND, OVER-YSSEL, GROENINGEN. GEMAECKT ENDE GESTELT UYT DIVERSE WARE EN WAERACHTIGE MEMORIEN. DOOR J. A. G. W. C. *Tot Antwerpen, Ghedruct by Francoys van Duynen, Boeckverkooper by de Beurs in Erasmus*, 1649." We have rendered it into English by the terms "Broad-Advice," which is, however, ambiguous; the word "broad" being probably intended to convey the sense both of "full" and "plain."

H. C. M.

REPRESENTATION

FROM

New-Nether-Land,

Concerning the Situation, Fruitfulness, and Poor Condition of the same.

HAGUE,

Printed by *Michael Stael*, Book-seller dwelling upon the Outer-Court, opposite the Prison-Gate, 1 6 5 0.

INTRODUCTION.

Although the existence of New Netherland as an American dependency of Netherland, had been made known by different publications, no distinct description of the country was printed until the year 1650. In that year appeared at the Hague a small quarto tract of forty-nine pages, with the title of Vertoogh van Nieu Nederland weghens de Ghelegentheydt, Vruchtbaerhydt, en Soberen Staet desselfs.

As this work was the first in point of time to record the early annals of New Netherland, and the acts of a dynasty which claimed, for half a century, sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction over the greater portion of what now constitutes six States of this Confederacy, so is it also the original printed source from which subsequent writers have drawn many of their facts in relation to that period of the history of those States. Until recently, the original work has not for many years been known to exist. Its rarity in Europe may be inferred from the fact that the industrious Ebeling mentions it as *probably* a printed document, and Lambrechtsen, the late Dutch historian of New Netherland, says, that notwithstanding repeated efforts he had been unable to obtain possession of it.

The value of this historical relic consists in its being a contemporaneous relation of events in New Netherland, by eleven persons who resided there, and who represented the entire population of New Amsterdam and the Dutch towns of Long Island, and were therefore cognizant of the matters

stated in it, either of their own knowledge, or from others who were concerned in them. It was written to be presented to the States General, with a view of obtaining a redress of certain grievances of which the people complained, and is accordingly generally known as the *Remonstrance of New Netherland*, and is so referred to by most writers. But, in truth, it is much more than a remonstrance. In order to give it effect as a petition for relief, it was necessary that the value and importance of the country should be set forth, and that the rights of the Fatherland to dominion over it, and the encroachments of other powers upon it should be shown. In this way not only the sense of justice and sympathy of the government would be excited, but the pride of Netherlanders and a regard for their interest would be aroused. The work was so prepared; and it accordingly may properly be divided into three parts; the first giving a description of the natives and of the physical features of the country, the second being a relation of the events connected with its settlement by Europeans, and the third forming a remonstrance against the policy and acts of the West India Company at home, and its governors, or Directors General as they were called, in this country. In regard to its authenticity it may be observed, that the documents which have within the last forty years been made accessible to the public, fully corroborate its statements of matters which are purely historical, and not connected with the points of complaint; and as to those points, the facts, for the most part, were not disputed, and only alleged to be perverted.

It was probably written by Adrian van der Donck. He at least composed the original journal from which it was derived, as appears in the work itself. That it is not in the form in which it was when seized by Stuyvesant, is manifest from the record, which is still preserved at Albany, of the proceedings of the Director and Council on that occasion. It was, nevertheless, the document of the Nine Men, a body selected by the Director and Council from double that num-

ber of persons, nominated by the people, for the purpose of aiding the administration in raising money for public objects from the inhabitants, though the purpose was declared in general terms to be to confer with it upon the best means of promoting the prosperity of the country and of the inhabitants. The restrictions upon trade which it was the policy of the West India Company to impose, had injuriously affected the interests of the freemen of New Netherland, by retarding population and restraining enterprise; and the elected NINE MEN were not long in directing their attention to some mode of relief. A deputation to Holland was proposed by them, and seconded by the Director General; but when they sought to present their grievances in their own way, without consulting Stuyvesant, he insisted that the petition should be made through him. It was impossible for them to set forth their grievances without arraigning the acts of the Director himself, however guiltless, regarded as the minister of the Company, he might be; and as they were probably instigated by two or three individuals, who had private griefs of their own, to speak the more harshly of him, they were not disposed to make the communication in the manner desired. The consequence was a quarrel, as detailed in the work, between them and the Director. As their appointment was first made in September, 1647, and six of them went out of office annually, a new appointment was made before the matter was settled; and probably the reason of eleven signing the document was, that some of the old, as well as the new members, united in the proceeding. The deputation, consisting of Van der Donck, Jacob van Couwenhoven, and Jan Evertsen-bout, three of the College, sailed for Holland in August, 1649, with the Remonstrance; whither Stuyvesant had already dispatched his Secretary, Cornelis van Tienhoven, who in due time presented to the States General an answer to the several specifications of complaint.

In regard to the strictures contained in the Remonstrance, upon the conduct of the Directors General, it must in justice

to them be remarked, that while they exerted their authority with rigor, and not in consonance with the more liberal notions of popular right at the present day, they appear, from their correspondence still preserved at Albany, with the West India Company, to have acted for the most part under positive orders, and in accordance, when they had no directions from the Company, with the spirit of their general instructions. The weakness of New Netherland in men, and in those internal resources which, in the absence of restrictions upon individual enterprise and in the existence of a government which affords security to life and property, naturally grow up, became more and more apparent as the encroachments of its neighbors increased. It was a sense of this weakness that originated the complaints, which, when they came to be made to the government at home, had to be formed into specific charges, which necessarily placed the Directors in an unenviable light, as the immediate authors of the grievances set forth. The real difficulty, however, and the fault, were in the management of the Company, which had taken possession of New Netherland for commercial purposes only, and which therefore had in view the planting of a colony for the Netherland nation merely as an ancillary to their profit. This was obvious when the condition of New Netherland was compared with that of the neighboring colonies; but in making, at this day, a comparison of its condition at that time with that of the adjoining colonies of the English, the distinction, in justice to the Dutch of New Netherland, should be ever borne in mind, that although both the English and Dutch colonies sprang alike from the enterprise of incorporated companies of private adventurers, yet the object of the English was not a purely commercial speculation, as was that of the Dutch; and that, while the Dutch Company continued its control over its colony until its subjugation by the English, the Companies of the latter, at a very early period, and many years before that event, had been dissolved in pursuance of a wiser policy—looking to the growth and

importance of their American possessions—on the part of the British government.

The proceedings of the deputation, on its reaching Holland, may be well gathered from the letters of the West India Company to the Director. The Company felt that the causes of complaint were at their own door, and not at that of Stuyvesant; and though they thought that in some cases, exposed by the remonstrants, he had exceeded his instructions, they yet nobly stood by him. "The Deputies," they write to him on the 16th Feb., 1850, "provided with letters of credit and recommendation to the Department of Amsterdam, kept them back for nine or ten weeks, and presented themselves first to the States General, expecting to succeed before the Managers would know of it. Failing there, they addressed themselves to the States of Guelderland, where they belched out their calumnies. They would have caused us a great deal of trouble, had we not bridled their mouths. The name of New Netherland was scarcely ever mentioned before, and now it would seem as if heaven and earth were interested in it." Again, on the 15th of April, they say, "We have before explained at large how the Deputies strove by many suspicious means to attain their object indirectly, and had succeeded so far in covering their calumnies *under a thick veil of truth* as to impose upon many of the better class, so that the matter seemed to assume a perilous aspect both for your Honor's reputation and the interests of the West India Company, particularly of the Chamber of Amsterdam. A great flare-up was indeed apprehended, but it was prevented by the prudent conduct of the committee of their High Mightinesses, who discovered a remedy which ought to give contentment to both parties, until further provision shall be made. We send you a copy of this resolution, from which you may learn what vexations we have suffered, and how full of danger it is to irritate a furious multitude." The resolution of the States General thus sent to Stuyvesant, which was merely the *projet* of reforms recommended by the committee,

condemned the Indian war brought on by Kieft, and required for the future that no similar war should be undertaken without the knowledge of the States General; it provided that the trade in guns and ammunition, with the Indians, should be gradually abolished, that the fortifications should be kept in repair, that no cattle should be exported from New Netherland, that the Council should be reörganized and Stuyvesant ordered home to give an account of his administration, that a Court of Justice should be erected for the province, and a city government established in New Amsterdam, and that two ships should be annually employed in transporting persons emigrating to New Netherland. In order to give effect to this resolution the concurrence of a majority of the managers of all the Chambers of the West India Company was necessary. The Chamber of Amsterdam, to which was entrusted the control of the affairs of New Netherland, resisted its adoption, and thus the whole subject slept for two years, during which time two of the deputies returned home, leaving Van der Donck alone in Holland to press upon the States General the complaints already made and others arising under new cases of grievance. The Chambers of Amsterdam finally, however, conceded a municipal government to New Amsterdam, and also some changes in the duties and in the regulations of trade, the establishment of a school and other minor reforms; and thus terminated what threatened to be a serious business for their interests in New Netherland.

Van der Donck remained in Holland until the summer of 1653, when he returned to New Netherland. He had employed himself in the mean time in writing his *Description of New Netherland*, and in May of that year secured a copyright for the work; though it was not then published. He evidently contemplated an addition to it, which was never made, embracing a history of the colony; for on his return home the Company wrote to Stuyvesant that he had applied for permission to examine the papers in the office of the Secretary of New Netherland, to complete the history which he

had undertaken to write; which application they referred to the Director, advising him to give the permission but so that it should not be abused and that "the Company's own weapons should not be turned against itself, and new troubles raised to its annoyance." Stuyvesant probably did not encourage the application. The work appeared in 1655, with the sanction of the Chamber of Amsterdam, in a small quarto of 100 pages, with the pictorial view of New Amsterdam which Mr. Moulton has prefixed to the second part of his history. A second edition was published in the following year, with the map but without the view. Neither of them contains the history of New Netherland; though both refer those who wish to be informed in regard to it to the *Vertoogh*,* of the descriptive portion of which the work of Van der Donck is in fact merely an amplification.

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* The Chapter of Van der Donck containing this reference is entirely omitted in the published translation of General Johnson. We therefore translate it here:

"THE NETHERLANDS THE FIRST POSSESSORS OF NEW NETHERLAND.

"Although the possession and title which the Netherlands have to New Netherland is amply treated of, in their length and breadth, in the *Representation of the Commonalty*, and little more can be said in relation to them unless access be had to the Registers of the Honorable West India Company, we will nevertheless touch upon them briefly, *en passant*. When this country was first discovered by the Netherlanders, in the year 1609, and it was told them by the natives that they were the first Christian explorers in that region, they took possession of it in the name and on behalf of their High Mightinesses, the Lords the States General of the United Netherlands, first in the South Bay at Cape *Hinloopen*, which they so called at that time, and which still retains that name, and so all along the coast and up the rivers, giving names to the different places, as far as the great North River, a great distance up which they sailed, and which some of the English will still call *Hudson's* River, but which was then named *Mauritius* river, after Prince Maurice, who at that time was Governor in Netherland; from thence they sailed further along, till they went beyond Cape Cod, of which they also took possession, and which they named New Holland; and our Netherlanders have sailed there and traded at the same places thus taken into possession, from time to time, since then until the charter was granted to the West Indian Company, when they passed under its jurisdiction. And although before, we had there in our favor the circumstances of forts, families, and cattle,

In 1651 appeared at Amsterdam a work entitled "*Beschryvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, Nieuw Engelandt;*" and in 1662 another with the title of "*Kort Verhael van Nieu Nederlandt;*" both of which are compilations from the *Vertoogh* and other publications. The *Kort Verhael* was published by the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, on the occasion of the transfer of the South river and its adjacent country to that city, by the West India Company, and was intended to invite the attention of emigrants to the new acquisition, which is described in very flattering terms, at the expense of the North river, against which the constant aggressions of the English are urged as a strong objection. It was by means of these works that the *Vertoogh* became more known. The description of New Netherland, printed in the first volume of the new series of the Collections of the New York Historical Society, from the Du Simitière MSS. is derived from the *Vertoogh.*

In regard to the version of the *Vertoogh* now made, it may be observed that the aim has been rather at correctness in interpretation than elegance in expression; and it has therefore been deemed proper to follow more closely than would otherwise have been done, the language of the original, and to adopt, in many cases, the forms of construction and turns of thought of the writer, contrary to the English idiom.

H. C. M.

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yet since the year 1622 several forts have been built, farms and plantations taken up, much of the land bought of the natives, and other tokens of possession shown, as is to be seen at length in the *Representation of the Commonalty of New Netherland,* to which we refer the curious reader. It is therefore unusual, unhandsome, and unreasonable for any other nation to assert title or jurisdiction over these places, or over those situated between such as were first discovered by the Netherlanders."

REPRESENTATION

FROM

NEW NETHERLAND,

CONCERNING ITS

SITUATION, PRODUCTIVENESS, AND POOR CONDITION.

Among all the people in the world, industrious in seeking out foreign lands, navigable waters and trade, those who bear the name of Netherlanders, will very easily hold their place with the first, as is sufficiently known to all those who have in any wise *saluted the threshold* of history, and as will also be confirmed by the following relation. The country of which we propose to speak, was first discovered in the year of our Lord 1609, by the ship Half-Moon, of which Henry Hudson was master and supercargo—at the expense of the chartered East India Company, though in search of a different object.* It was subsequently called New Netherland by our people, and very justly, as it was

* A northwest passage to China,—the attempts to accomplish which have caused the discovery and exploration of North America, from the first, more than all other objects combined.

first discovered and possessed by the Netherlanders, and at their cost; so that, even at the present day, those natives of the country who are so old as to recollect when the Dutch ships first came here, declare that when they saw them, they did not know what to make of them, and could not comprehend whether they came down from heaven, or were of the devil. Some among them, when the first one arrived even imagined it to be a fish, or some monster of the sea; and accordingly a strange report of it spread over the whole land. We have also heard the Indians* frequently say, that they knew nothing of any other part of the world, or any other people than their own, before the arrival of the Netherlanders. For these reasons, therefore, and on account of the similarity of climate, situation, and fertility, this place is rightly called New Netherland. It is situated on the northerly coast of America, in the latitude of 38, 39, 40, 41, and 42 degrees, or thereabouts, coast-wise. It is bounded on the northeast by New England, and on the southwest by Virginia. The coast runs nearly southwest and northeast, and is washed by the ocean. On the north is the river of Canada, a large river running far into the interior. The northwest side is, for the most part, still unknown.

The land is naturally fruitful, and capable of supporting a large population, if it were judiciously allotted according to location. The air is pleasant, and

* Wilden—wild men—was the word generally used by the Dutch and Swedes to designate the natives of the country. We adopt the received term for convenience.

more temperate than in Netherland. The winds are changeable, and blow from all points, but generally from the southwest and northwest; the former prevailing in summer, and the latter in winter, at times very sharply, but constituting, nevertheless, the greatest blessing to the country as regards the health of the people, being very bracing and pure, and driving off or consuming all damps and superfluous moisture. The coast is generally clear and sandy, but double and broken into islands. Eastward from the North river lies Long Island, about forty miles* in length, forming a fine wide river, which falls at either end into the ocean, and affording a convenient passage inside for the whole distance, protected from the dangers of the sea by a great number of good bays and other places of anchorage, so that vessels can thereby in winter readily pass east and west. Towards the south, approaching the South river,† there are several inlets; but they are muddy and sandy, though by proper exertion they could be used. Inside these again, there are large streams and valleys, but the waters are shallow. Along the seacoast the land is generally sandy or gravelly, not very high, but tolerably fertile, and for the most part covered over with beautiful woods. The country is in many places hilly, with some high mountains, and very fine flats and mowing lands, together with large meadows, salt and fresh, all making very fine hay land. It is overgrown with all kinds of trees, standing without

* A Dutch mile is equal to four English miles.
† The river Delaware.

order, as in other wildernesses; except that the mowing lands, flats and meadows, have few or no trees, though with little pains they might be made good wood-land.

The seasons are the same as in Netherland, but the summer is warmer and begins more suddenly. The winter is cold, and further inland, or towards the most northerly part, more so than in Netherland. It is also subjected to much snow, which remains long on the ground, and in the interior, three, four, and five months; but near the seacoast it is quickly dissolved by the southerly winds. Thunder, lightning, rain, showers, hail, snow, frosts, dew, and the like, are the same as in Netherland, except that, in the summer, sudden gusts of wind are somewhat more frequent.

The land is adapted to the production of all kinds of winter and summer fruits, and with less trouble and tilling than in Netherland. It produces different kinds of wood, large and small, suitable for building houses and ships, consisting of oaks of various kinds, as post-oak, white smooth bark, white rough bark, gray bark, black bark, and another kind which they call, from its softness, butter oak, the poorest of all, and not very valuable; the others, if cultivated as in Netherland, would be equal to any Flemish or Brabant oaks. It also yields several species of nut wood, such as oil-nuts, large and small; walnut of different sizes, in great abundance, and good for fuel, for which it is much used, and chestnut, the same as in Netherland, growing in the woods without order. There are three varieties of beech,—water beech, common beech, and hedge beech,—also, ax-handle wood, two species of canoe

wood, ash, birch, fir, fire-wood, wild cedar, linden, alder, willow, thorn, elder, and many other kinds; useful for various purposes, but unknown to us by name, and which the carpenters will be glad to submit for examination.

The indigenous fruits consist principally of acorns, some of which are very sweet; nuts of different kinds, chestnuts, beechnuts, mulberries, plums, but not many, medlars, wild cherries, black currants, gooseberries, hazle nuts in great quantities, small apples, very large strawberries throughout the country, with many other fruits and roots which the Indians use. There is also plenty of bill-berries or blue-berries, together with ground-nuts and artichokes, which grow under ground. Almost the whole land is full of vines, as well the wild woods as the mowing lands and flats; but they grow principally near to and upon the banks of the brooks, streams, and rivers, which are numerous, and run conveniently and pleasantly as if they were designed for the purpose. The grapes comprise many varieties, some white, some blue, some very fleshy, and only fit to make raisins of, others, on the contrary, juicy; some are very large and others small. The juice is pleasant, and as white in some as French or Rhenish wine, in others it is a very deep red, like Tent, and in some paler. The vines run much on the trees, and are shaded by their leaves, so that the grapes ripen late and are a little sour; but when the people shall have more experience, as fine wines will undoubtedly be made here as in any other country. In regard to other fruits, all those which grow in Netherland, also grow

very well in New Netherland, without requiring as much care to be bestowed upon them as is necessary there. Garden fruits succeed very well, and are dryer, sweeter, and more pleasant than in Netherland; for proof of which we may instance particularly musk-melons, citrons, or watermelons, which in New Netherland grow readily in the open fields, if the briars and weeds are kept from them, but in Netherland they require the care of *amateurs*, or those who cultivate them for profit in very small gardens, and then they are neither so perfect by far, nor as palatable, as they are in New Netherland. In general all kinds of pumpkins are also much drier, sweeter, and more delicious, which is caused by the temperateness and amenity of the climate.

The tame cattle are in size and other respects about the same as in Netherland; but the English cattle and swine thrive and feed best, appearing to be better suited to the country than those from Holland. They require, too, less trouble, expense, and attention; for it is not necessary in winter to look after such as are not in use, or the swine, except that in the time of a deep snow they should have some attention. Milch cows are much less trouble than they are in Holland, as most of the time, if any care be requisite, it is only for the purpose of giving them occasionally a little hay.

The wild animals are principally, lions,* but they are few; bears, of which there are many; elks and deer in great numbers, some of which are entirely white,

* Panthers—sometimes called American lions.

and others wholly black. The Indians say that the white deer are of very great consequence in the estimation of the other deer, and are exceedingly beloved, regarded, and honored by the others; but that it is otherwise with the black deer. There are other large animals in the interior, but they are unknown to the Christians. There are also wolves, dangerous only to small cattle, beavers, otters, weasels, wild cats, foxes, racoons, minks, hares, muskrats, about as large as cats, polecats, and squirrels, some of which can fly. There are also ground hogs and other small animals; but they are for the most part, as we said before, not known to the Christians.

Of birds, this country is by no means without its share. There are great numbers of birds of prey, as, eagles, of two kinds,—the *bald-headed*, which has the head, tail, and principal feathers white, and the common kind; hawks, buzzards, sparrow-hawks, crows, chicken-hawks, and many others, all capable of being trained and used for hunting, though they differ in shape, somewhat, from those in Netherland. There is also a bird which has its head like a cat, and its body like a large owl, colored white.* We know no name for it in Netherland, but in France it is called *grand duc*, and is esteemed very highly.

The other birds are turkies, the same as in Netherland, but they are wild, and are plentiest and best in winter; several kinds of partridges, some smaller than in Netherland, others larger; curlews, wood and water snipes, pheasants, heath-hens, cranes, herons, bitterns;

* The Cat-Owl—*Bubo virginianus*.

multitudes of pigeons resembling coal-pigeons, but a little smaller; quails, merlins, thrushes, shore-runners, but in some respects different from those of Netherland. There are other small birds, some of which sing; but the names of most of them are unknown to us, and would take long to enumerate. Water-fowl are found here of different kinds, very good to eat; also swans, similar to those in Netherland and full as large; three kinds of geese—gray geese, which are the largest and best, red geese, and white-headed geese; ducks of different kinds, widgeons, divers, coots, eel-shovelers, and several others, but not so abundant as the foregoing.

The river fish are almost the same as in Netherland, comprising salmon, sturgeon, twelves, thirteens,* shad, carp, perch, pike, trout, roach, thickhead, suckers, sun-fish, eel, nine-eyes or lampreys, both much more abundant and larger than in Netherland, besides many other valuable fish which we are unable to name.

In the salt water are caught cod-fish, shell-fish, weak-fish, herring, mackerel, thorn-backs, flounders, plaice, sheeps-head, black-fish, sea-dogs, panyns, and many others; also lobsters, crabs, great cockles, from which the Indians make the white and black *Zeewant*, oysters and muscles in great quantities; with many other kinds of shell-fish very similar to each other, for which we know no names; besides sea and land tortoises.

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* The *striped bass* and *drum-fish*, which were found here after the shad, which in the Dutch language is named *elft* (eleventh), were called twelves and thirteens, from that circumstance.

The venomous animals consist, for the most part, of adders and lizards, though they are quite harmless. There are snakes of different kinds, which are not dangerous, and flee before men if they possibly can, else they are usually beaten to death. The rattle-snakes, however, which have a rattle on the tail, with which they rattle very loudly when they are angry or intend to sting, and which grows every year a joint larger, are very malignant, and do not readily retreat before a man or any other creature. Whoever is bitten by them runs great danger of his life, unless great care be taken; but fortunately they are not numerous, and there grows spontaneously in the country, the true snake root, which is very highly esteemed by the Indians as an unfailing cure.*

The medicinal plants found in New Netherland in a day, by little search, as far as they have come to our knowledge, consist principally of Venus' hair, hart's tongue, lingwort, polypody, white mullein, priest's shoe, garden and sea-beach orach, water germander, tower-mustard, sweet flag, sassafras, crowfoot, plantain, shepherd's purse, mallows, wild marjoram, crane's bill, marsh-mallows, false eglantine, laurel, violet, blue flag, wild indigo, Solomon's seal, dragon's blood, comfrey, milfoil, many sorts of fern, wild lilies of different kinds, agrimony, wild leek, blessed thistle, snake-root, Spanish

* The *serpentaria* is the plant here referred to, which, it is well known, is not an antidote to the poison of snakes. Lieut. Abert, however, mentions, in the Report of his Examination of New Mexico, a plant of alexipharmical virtues, in use among the Chayenne Indians, supposed to be a species of Coreopsis.

figs, which grow out of the leaves,* tarragon, and numerous other plants and flowers; but as we are not skilled in those things, we can not say much of them; yet it is not to be doubted that *amateurs* would be able to find many simples of great and different virtues; in which we have confidence, principally because the Indians cure very dangerous and perilous wounds and sores by roots, leaves, and other trifles.

It is certain that the *Indigo silvestris* grows here spontaneously without human aid. It could be easily cultivated if there were people who would undertake it; at least the other species would grow very well and yield a good profit. We have seen proof of this in the colony of Renselaerswyck, though it was all sown too late and upon a barren rock where there was little earth. It came up very well, but in consequence of the drought turned very yellow and withered, and was neglected; nevertheless it was evident, that if it were well covered, it would succeed. Madder plants also would undoubtedly grow well both in fields and gardens, and better than in Zealand.

There may be discovered casually or by little search, different minerals, upon some of which experiments have been made according to our limited means, and which are found good. We have attempted several times to send specimens of them to Netherland, once with Arent van Corenben† by way of New Haven

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* Probably the prickly pear is meant.

† Arent Corsen. He embarked in Mr. Lamberson's ship, the fate of which was marvelously connected with a *mirage* by the early New-England writers. See Winthrop's *Journal*, ii. 254, and Mather's *Magnalia*, 26.

and England; but the ship was wrecked and no tidings of it have ever been received. Director William Kieft also had many different specimens with him in the ship, the Princess, but they were lost in her with him. The mountains and mines nevertheless remain, and are easily to be found again whenever it may be thought proper to go to the labor and expense. In New England they have already progressed so far as to make castings of iron pots, tankards, balls, and the like out of their minerals; and we firmly believe all that is wanting here is to have a beginning made; for there are in New Netherland two kinds of marcasite, and mines of white and yellow quicksilver, of gold, silver, copper, iron, black lead, and hard coal. It is supposed that tin and lead will also be found; but who will seek after them or who will work them, as long as there are not more people?

Fuller's earth is found in abundance, and Armenian bole; also white, red, yellow, blue, and black clay, very solid and greasy, and suitable for many purposes: earth for stone ware, mountain-chrystal, glass like that of Muscovy, green serpentine stone in great abundance, gray hearth-stone, slate, red grindstone, flint, paving stone, large quantities of all varieties of quarry stone suitable for building and all kinds of walls, asbestos and very many other kinds applicable to the use of man. There are different paints, but the Christians are not skilled in them. They are seen daily on the Indians, who understand their nature, and use them to paint themselves in different colors. If it were not that explorers are wanting, our people would be able to find them, and provide themselves with them.

Of the Americans or Natives, their Appearance, Occupations, and Manner of Living.

The natives are generally well-set in their limbs, slender round the waist, broad across the shoulders, and have black hair and dark eyes. They are very nimble and active, well adapted to travel on foot and to drag heavy burdens. They are foul and slovenly in their actions, and make little of all kinds of hardships, to which, indeed, they are from youth accustomed. They are like the Brazilians in color, or as yellow as the people who sometimes come to Netherland and are called Heathens. The men generally have no beard, or very little, which they pull out. They use very few words, which they first well consider. Naturally they are very modest, simple, and inexperienced; though in their actions high-minded enough, vigorous, and quick to comprehend or learn, be it right or wrong, whenever they are so inclined. They are not honorable as soldiers, but perfidious, accomplishing all their enterprises by treachery, using many stratagems to deceive their enemies, and ordering all their plans involving any danger, by night. The desire of revenge appears to be born in them. They are very obstinate in defending themselves when they cannot run, which, however, they do when they can; and they make little of death when it is inevitable, and despise all tortures which can be inflicted upon them while dying, manifesting no sorrow, but usually singing on the occasion. They understand how to cure wounds and hurts, or inveterate sores and injuries, by means of herbs and roots which grow in the country, and which are known to them. Their

clothing, both for men and women, is a piece of duffels or leather, in front, with a deer skin or elk's hide over the body. Some have bears' hides, of which they make doublets; others have coats made of the skins of racoons, wild-cats, wolves, dogs, weasels, squirrels, beavers and the like, and also of turkey's feathers. At present, they use for the most part duffels cloth, which they obtain in barter from the Christians. They make their stockings and shoes of deer skins or elks' hide, and some have shoes made of corn-husks; of which they also make sacks. Their money consists of white and black *Zeewant*, which they themselves make. Their measure of value is by the hand or by the fathom; but their corn is measured by *denotas*, which are bags they make themselves. Their ornaments consist in cutting their bodies, or painting them with various colors, sometimes very black, if they are in mourning, and generally in the face. They suspend *Zeewant*, both white and black, from their heads—which they otherwise are not wont to cover, but on which they are now beginning to wear hats and caps bought of the Christians—and from their ears. They also put it round their necks and bodies, wherewith after their manner they appear very fine. They have long deer's hair which is dyed red, and of which they make rings for the head, and other hair of the same color, to hang from the neck like tresses, of which they are very proud. They frequently smear their skin and hair with different kinds of grease. They can most all swim. They themselves make the boats they use, which are of two kinds, some of entire trees, which they hollow out with fire, hatchets, and

adzes, and which the Christians call canoes; the others are made of bark, which they put together very skillfully, and which are also called canoes.

Traces of the institution of marriage can just be perceived among them, and nothing more. A man and woman join themselves together without any particular ceremony, otherwise than that the man by previous agreement with the woman gives her some Zeewant or cloth, which on their separation, which soon happens, he takes again. Both men and women are utterly unchaste and shamelessly promiscuous in their intercourse, which is the cause of the men so often changing their wives and the women their husbands. Ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs. They have also among them different conditions of persons, such as noble and ignoble. The men are generally lazy, and do nothing until they become old and unesteemed, when they make spoons, wooden bowls, bags, nets, and other similar articles; beyond this the men do nothing except fish, hunt, and go to war. The women are compelled to do the rest of the work, such as planting corn, cutting and drawing wood, cooking, taking care of the children, and whatever else there is to be done. Their dwellings consist of hickory saplings, placed upright in the ground and bent arch-wise; the tops are covered with barks of trees, which they cut for this purpose in great quantities. Some even have within them little boxes and imagery cut out rough, with very little design, but these are generally in the houses of the chiefs. In the fishing and hunting seasons, they

lie under the open sky or little better. They do not live long in one place, but move about several times in a year, at such times and to such places as it appears beforehand best and easiest for them to obtain subsistence.

They are divided into different tribes and languages, each tribe living generally by itself, and having one of its number as a chief, though he has not much power or distinction except in their dances or in time of war. Among some there is not the least knowledge of God, and among others very little, though they relate very strange fables concerning Him.

They are in general much afraid of the Devil, who receives their adoration; and some give themselves up to him, and thus permit themselves to be wheedled.* But their devils, they say, will have nothing to do with the Dutch. No haunting of spirits and the like are heard of among them. They make offerings to the Devil sometimes, but with few solemnities. They believe in the immortality of the soul. They have some knowledge of the sun, moon, and stars, which they understand well how to name; and they judge tolerably well about the weather. There is hardly any law or justice among them, except sometimes in war matters, and then very little. The nearest blood is the avenger. The youngest are the most courageous, and do for the

* The Indian mode of reasoning on this subject is well stated by Biörck, in his dissertation *De Plantatione Ecclesiæ Suecanæ in Americâ.* Referring to their belief in a celestial and terrestrial Manitto, he says, "They perversely argue, that the former is not to be adored or feared, because he is good; but the latter is to be feared and worshiped, because he is bad."

most part what they please. Their weapons formerly were the bow and arrow, which they employ with wonderful skill; but they now generally use clap-hammers; and those who live near the Christians or have many dealings with them, have firelocks and hatchets, which they obtain in trade. They are exceedingly fond of guns, sparing no expense for them, and are so skillful in the use of them that they surpass many Christians. Their food is coarse and simple, drinking water as their only beverage, and eating the flesh of all kinds of animals which the country affords, cooked without being dressed. They eat even badgers, dogs, eagles, and such like trash, upon which Christians place no value. They use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and snakes, frogs, and the like. They know how to preserve fish and meat during winter, and to cook them with corn-meal. They make their bread of maize, but it is very plain, and cook it either whole or broken in a pestle block. The women do this, and make of it a pap or porridge, which some of them call *Sapsis*,* others *Enimdare*, and which is their daily food. They mix this also well with small beans of different colors, which they plant themselves; but this is held by them as a dainty dish more than as daily food.

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* Probably a misprint for *Sapaan*.

By whom New Netherland was first Discovered, and what are its Boundaries.

That New Netherland was first found, claimed, and possessed by Netherlanders, has already been stated; but inasmuch as a dispute has arisen, not only with the Swedes (which is of little moment) but especially with the English, who have already entered upon and seized a great part thereof, it is necessary to speak of each claim somewhat at large.

But because this matter has been treated upon by various ingenious minds in its length and breadth, and as those claims are so absurd as to require only a few reasons in answer to them, we will be as brief as is in any wise practicable. After their High Mightinesses the Lords States General were pleased, in the year of our Lord 1622, to include this province in their grant to the Honorable West India Company, their Honors deemed it necessary to take into possession so naturally beautiful and noble a province; which was immediately done, as opportunity offered, the same as in all similar beginnings. Since the year of our Lord 1623, four forts have been built there by order of the Lord Mayors, one on the south point of the Manhatans Island, where the East and North rivers unite, called New Amsterdam, where the staple-right* of New Netherland was designed to be; another upon the same river,

* *Staple-right* is a privilege, granted to the inhabitants of a place, to compel the masters of vessels or merchants trading along their coasts, to discharge their cargoes there for sale, or else pay duties.

six-and-thirty Dutch miles higher up, and three miles below the great Cohoes (Kochoos) fall of the Mohawk's river (Maquas-kil), on the west side of the river, in the colony of Renselaerswyck, and is called Orange; but upon this river there has been as yet no dispute with any foreigners. Upon the South river lies fort Nassau, and upon the Fresh river,* the Good Hope. Of these four forts there has been always, from the beginning to the present time some possession, although they are all now in a very bad condition, not only in themselves, but also as regards possession.

These forts, both to the south and north, are so situated as to command and protect not only the said rivers, but also the plantations between them, as well as those round about them, and on the other side of the river as far as the ownership by occupation extends. These the Hon. Company declared they owned, and would maintain against all foreign or domestic powers who should attempt to seize them against their consent. Yet, on the northeast side of New Netherland, this declaration was not at all regarded or observed by the English living to the eastward; for, notwithstanding possession was already fully taken by the building and occupation of fort Good Hope, and there was no neglect from time to time in warning them, in making known our rights, and in protesting against their usurpation and violence, they have disregarded all these things, and have seized and possessed, and still hold, the largest and best part of New Netherland, that is,

* Connecticut River.

on the east side of the North river, from Cape Cod (by our people in 1609 called New Holland, and taken possession of by the setting up of the Arms of their High Mightinesses), to within six miles of the North river, where the English have now a village called Stamford, from whence it could be traveled now, in a summer's day, to the North river and back again, if the Indian path were only known. The English of New Haven also have a trading-house, which lies east or southeast of Magdalen Island, and not more than six miles from the North river, in which this Island lies, on the east side twenty-three and a half miles above Fort Amsterdam.* This trading-post was established for no other purpose than to divert the trade of the North river, or to destroy it entirely. They have also endeavored several times, during eight or nine years past, to buy of the Indians a large quantity of land (which would have served more than any other thing to draw off the trade), as we have understood from the Indians; for the post is situated not more than three or four miles from the east bounds of the colony of Renselaerswyck.

This and similar difficulties these people now wish to lay to our charge, all under the pretense of a very clear conscience, notwithstanding King James, of most glorious memory, chartered the Virginia Companies upon condition that they should remain an hundred miles from each other, according to our reckoning.

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* Between the landings of Redhook. The trading-post of the English here spoken of was that of Mr. Pinchon on the Connecticut.

They are willing to avail themselves of this grant, but by no means to comply with the terms stipulated in it.

All the islands, bays, havens, rivers, kils,* and places, even to a great distance on the other side of New Holland or Cape Cod, have Dutch names, which our Dutch ship-masters and traders gave to them, who were the first to discover and to trade with them, even before they had names, as the English themselves well know; but as long as they could do as they pleased, they were willing not to know it. And those of them who are at the Fresh river, have desired to enter into an agreement to make a yearly acknowledgment, or an absolute purchase, which, indeed, is proof positive that our right was well known to them, and that they themselves had nothing against it in conscience, although they now, from time to time, have invented and pretended many things in order to screen themselves, or thereby to cause delay.

Moreover, the people of Rhode Island, when they were at variance with those of the Bay,† sought refuge among the Dutch, and sojourn among them. For all these things, and what we shall relate in the following pages, there are proofs and documents enough, either with the secretary of the company or with the directors.

In short, it is just this with the English: they are willing to know the Netherlanders, and to use them

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* A kil is a small stream, not entitled to be called either a strait or a river.

† Massachusetts. Roger Williams embarked from *New Amsterdam* for England in 1643, being interdicted Boston.

as a protection in time of need; but when that is past, they no longer regard them, but play the fool with them. This happens so only because we have neglected to populate the land; or, to speak more plainly and truly, because we have, out of regard for our own profit, wished to scrape all the fat into one or more pots, and thus secure the trade and neglect population.

Long Island, which on account of its fine bays and havens, and good lands, is a *crown for the Province*, they have also seized upon, except, on the west end, two Dutch villages—Breuckelen and Amersvoort,* not of much importance—and some English villages, as Gravesend, Greenwich, and Mespat (from which the people were driven off during the war, and which was afterwards confiscated by Director Kieft; but as the owners appealed therefrom, it remains so still, though there are now a very few people in the place): also, Vlissengen,† which is a pretty village and tolerably rich in cattle. The fourth and last village is Hempstead, which is superior to the rest, for it is very rich in cattle.

As we are now on the subject of Long Island, we will, because the English claim it, speak of it somewhat particularly. The ocean is on the south, and the East river on the north side of it; and, as we have said, it is—on account of its goodsituation, of its land, and of its convenient harbors and anchoring places—a crown for New Netherland. The East river separates it from Manhatans Island as far as the Hellegat. It is

* Flatlands. † Flushing.

tolerably wide and convenient; and has been inhabited by our freemen from the first, according as opportunities offered. In the year 1640, a Scotchman, with an English commission, was arrested by Director William Kieft. He laid claim to the Island, but his pretension was not much regarded; for which reason he departed without accomplishing any thing, having influenced only a few simple people. Director Kieft also afterwards sent and broke up the English who wished to begin a settlement at Oyster Bay, and thus it has remained from that time to the present.

In the year 1647, a Scotchman came here, who called himself Captain *Forester*, and claimed this Island for the Dowager of Sterling, whose governor he gave himself out to be. He had a commission dated in the 18th year of King James's reign, but it was not signed by his Majesty or anybody else. Appended to it was an old seal, which we could not decipher. His commission embraced the whole of Long Island, together with five leagues round about it, as well the mainland as islands. He had also full authority from Mary, Dowager of Sterling, but this was all. Nevertheless the man was very consequential, and said on his first arrival, that he came here to see Governor Stuyvesant's commission, and if that was better than his, he was willing to give way; if not, Governor Stuyvesant must yield to him. To make the matter short, the Director took copies of the papers and sent the man to Holland in the *Falconer;* but as this vessel put into England, the man did not reach Holland, having escaped there, and never troubling the captain afterwards.

The English have since boasted of this very loudly, and have also given out that he had again arrived at Boston; but we have not seen him. It is to be apprehended that if he has come now, some new act will be committed, for which reason it would be well to hasten the redress of New Netherland.*

Of the Fresh River.

After fort Good Hope, begun in the year 1623,† on the Fresh river, was finished, some time had elapsed when an English bark arrived there. Jacob Van Curler, Commissary of the Company, by order of Director Wouter Van Twiller, protested against it; but notwithstanding his protest, they did a year or two afterwards come there with some families. A protest was also made against them; but it was very manifest that these people had little respect for it, for notwithstanding our protests they have finally seized and possessed the whole of the Fresh river, and have proceeded so far in their shameless course as, in the year 1640, to seize the company's farms at the fort, paying no regard to the protests which we made. They have gone even still further, and have belabored the company's people with sticks and heavy clubs; and have forcibly thrown into the river their plows and other instruments, while they were on the land for the purpose of working, and have let their horses loose. The same things have happened very frequently. They

* See Note A, *post.*

† A misprint for 1633.

also obtained the hogs and cows belonging to the fort, and several times sold some of them for the purpose, as they said, of repairing the damage. Against all these acts, and each one in particular, protests were repeatedly made; but they were met with ridicule. There were several letters written in Latin to their governors; of which letters and protests, minutes or copies remain with the company's officers, from which a much fuller account of these transactions could be made. But all opposition was in vain; for, having had a smack of the goodness and convenience of this river, and discovered the difference between the land there and that more easterly, they would not go back; nor would they put themselves under the protection of their High Mightinesses, although they were respectfully exhorted thereto, as was desirable from the first they should have done.

Of the right of the Netherlanders to the Fresh River.

To speak from the beginning, our people had carefully explored and discovered the most northerly parts of New Netherland, and some distance on the other side of Cape Cod, as it is called, before the English were known here, and had set up our Arms upon Cape Cod as an act of possession. In the year 1614, our traders had not only traded at the Fresh river, but had also ascended it, before any English had ever dreamed of going there; which they did first in the year 1636, after our fort, the Good Hope, had been a

long time *in esse*, and most all the lands on both sides the river had been purchased by our people from the Indians, which purchase took place principally in the year 1632. *Kievets-hoeck* * was also purchased at the same time, by one Hans den Sluys, an officer of the company. At this place, the States' arms had been affixed to a tree in token of possession; but the English, who now possess the Fresh river, have torn them down and engraved a ridiculous face in their place. Whether this was done by authority or not, cannot be positively asserted; it is, however, supposed that it was. It has been so charged upon them in several letters, but it has never been followed up. Besides, they have, *contra jus gentium, per fas et nefas* invaded the whole river, for the reason, as they say, that the land was lying idle and waste; which was not true at the time they came, for there was already built upon the river a fort which continued to be possessed by a garrison. There was also a large brewery near the fort, belonging to the Dutch or the company. Most of the land was bought and appropriated, and the arms of their High Mightinesses were set up at Kievets-Hoeck, which is situated at the mouth of the river; so that every thing was done that could be done, except that the country was not all actually occupied. The English, therefore, wished to regard it the same as if it were in their power to establish laws for our nation in its own purchased lands and limits, and direct how and in what manner it should introduce people into the country. But it does

* Now called Saybrook Point. *Kievit*, or *kiewit*, is the bird *pewit*.

not turn out exactly, according to their desire and pleasure, that they have the right to invade and appropriate these waters, lands, and jurisdiction to themselves.

Of the Roden-Berch, by the English called New Haven, and other places of less importance.

The number of villages in the possession of the English, from New Holland, or Cape Cod, to Stamford, within the limits of the Netherlanders, is about thirty, and they may contain five thousand men capable of bearing arms. Their cattle, cows, and horses, are estimated at thirty thousand; their goats and hogs cannot be stated, as neither of them can be fully known, because there are several places which cannot well pass for villages, but which nevertheless are beginnings of villages. Among the villages, Roden-Berch,* or New Haven, is the first. It has a governor, contains about three hundred and forty families, and is one of the members of the United Colonies of New England, of which there are four in all.

This place was begun eleven years ago, in the year 1638, since when the people have broken off and formed Milford, Stratford, Stamford, and the trading house before spoken of, &c.

Director Kieft has caused several protests to be drawn up, in Latin and in other languages, command-

* Red-Mountain.

ing them, by virtue of his commissions from the Lords States General, His Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Most Noble Directors of the Chartered West India Company, to desist from their proceedings and usurpations; and warning them, in case they did not, that we would, as soon as a fit opportunity should present, exact of them satisfaction therefor. *But it was knocking at a dead man's door*, as they did not regard these protests, or even take any notice of them; on the contrary, they have sought many subterfuges, circumstances, false pretenses, and sophistical arguments, to give color to their doings, and to throw a cloud upon our lawful title and valid rights, in order to trick us out of them. General Stuyvesant also has had many questions with them, growing out of this matter; but it remains as it was. The utmost that they have ever been willing to come to, is to declare that the dispute could not be settled in this country, and that they desired and were satisfied that their High Mightinesses should arrange it with their sovereign. It is highly necessary that this should be done, inasmuch as the English have already seized and are in possession of almost half of New Netherland, which hereafter must be of very great importance. It is, therefore, heartily to be desired that their High Mightinesses will be pleased to take this subject into serious consideration, before it shall go further, and the breach become irreparable.

We must now pass to the South river, called by the English Delaware Bay, first speaking of the boundaries; but before doing so, we cannot omit to say that there

has been here, both in the time of Director Kieft and in that of General Stuyvesant, a certain Englishman, who called himself Sir Edward Plowden, with the title of Earl Palatine of New Albion, who claimed that the land on the west side of the North river to Virginia was his, by gift of King James of England; but he said he did not wish to have any strife with the Dutch, though he was very much piqued at the Swedish governor, John Printz, at the South river, on account of some affront given him, too long to relate. He said that when an opportunity should offer, he would go there and take possession of the river. In short, it amounts to this, according to the claims of the English, that there is nothing left for the subjects of their High Mightinesses: one must have this far, and another that far, but as between themselves they never fall short.*

Of the South River and the Boundaries there.

As we have now come to speak of the South river and the most southerly portion of New Netherland, we will, since it is well distinguished from the other part, relate every thing from the beginning, and as briefly as is practicable. The boundaries, as we find them, extend to Cape Henlopen, many miles south of Cape Cornelius, at the latitude of thirty-eight degrees. The coast stretches, one course with another, west-southwest and west; and although this Cape Henlopen is not

* See Note B, *post.*

much esteemed, it is, nevertheless, proper that it should be brought to our attention, as being well situated, not only in regard to the position of the country, but also as relates to the trade with the Indians at the South river, which the English and Swedes are striving after very hard, as we will show. When the boundaries of this country shall be settled, these people should without further question be ousted, and both the enjoyment of the productions of the land and the trade be retained for the subjects of their High Mightinesses.

Of the South Bay and South River.

The South bay and South river, by many called the second great river of New Netherland, is situated at the latitude of thirty-eight degrees and fifty-three minutes. It has two headlands or capes,—the more northerly bearing the name of Cape May, the more southerly, that of Cape Cornelius. The bay was called Newport-May, but at the present time is known as Godyn's bay. These names were given to the places about the time of their first discovery, before any others were given them. The discovery, moreover, took place at the same time with that of the North river, and by the same ship and persons, who entered the South bay before they came to the North river, as is all to be read, at length, in the "*Nieuwe Werelt*" of Johannes de Laet.

At the same time that the forts were laid out on the North and Fresh rivers, after (zedert) the year 1623, fort Nassau was erected upon this river, which, in common parlance, is called the South river. It was the first of the four, and was built with the same object and design of the others, as hereinbefore related. It lies on the east bank, but it would have done as well on the west bank, fifteen miles up the river. The bay runs for the most part north and south; is called New-port-May or Godyn's bay; and is nine miles long before you come to the river, and six miles wide, so that you cannot see from one side to the other. On account of certain bars, it is somewhat dangerous for inexperienced navigators, but not so for those who are acquainted with the channels. This bay and river is compared by its admirers with the river Amazon, that is, by such of them as have seen both; each of which is considered one of the most beautiful, and the best and pleasantest rivers in the world, of itself and as regards others convenient to it. Fourteen streams empty into this river, the least of them navigable for two or three miles; and on both sides there are tolerably level lands of great extent. Two miles from Cape Cornelius, where you enter on the west side, lies a certain kil, which might be taken for an ordinary river or stream, being navigable far up, and affording a beautiful road-stead for ships of all burdens. There is no other like it in the whole bay for safety and convenience. The main channel for navigation runs close by the place we call the Hoere-kil. From whence this name is derived we

do not know,* so long is it since this place was taken and colonized by Netherlanders, years before any English or Swedes came there. The States' arms were set up at this place in copper, but as they were thrown down by some mischievous Indians, the commissary there very firmly insisted upon and demanded the head of the offender. The Indians, not knowing otherwise, brought a head, saying it was his; and the affair was supposed to be all settled; but some time afterwards, when our people were working unsuspectingly in their fields, the Indians came in the guise of friendship, and distributing themselves among the Dutch in proportionate numbers, surprised and murdered them. By this means, the colony was again reduced to nothing; but it was nevertheless sealed with blood and dearly enough bought.

There is another kil on the east side, called the Varckens-kil (Hog creek),† three miles within the mouth of the river. Here some English had settled themselves; but Director Kieft protested against their proceedings, and drove them away, having been assisted in doing so, somewhat, by the Swedes, who had agreed with him to keep out the English. The Swedish governor, considering an opportunity then offered to him, caused a fort to be built at this place, called *Elsinborg*,‡ and manifests there great boldness towards every

* It means *harlot's creek*, and was so called, according to the *Kort Verhael*, from a well-known custom of the Indians towards strangers, which was there practiced by them towards the Dutch who first came to that place.

† Now called Salem creek.

‡ Afterwards destroyed by the *Lenni Lenape*, on its abandonment by the Swedes, who left it in consequence, not of Dutch prowess, but of the mosquitoes.

one, even over the company's boats. All who go to the South river, must strike the flag before this fort, none excepted; and two men are sent on board to ascertain from whence the yachts or ships come. It is not much better than exercising the right of search, It will, to all appearance, come to this in the end. What authority these people can have to do this, we know not; nor can we comprehend how officers of other potentates (as they themselves say they are, but what commission they have we do not yet know) can make themselves masters of, and assume authority over, land and goods belonging to and possessed by other people, and sealed with their blood, independently of the patent. The *Minquas-kil** is the first upon the river, and there the Swedes have built Fort Christina. This place is well situated, as large ships can lie close against the shore to load and unload. There is, besides others, a place on the river called Schuylkil† (a convenient and navigable stream), heretofore possessed by the Netherlanders; but how is it now? The Swedes have it almost entirely under their dominion. There are in the river several beautiful, large islands, and other places, which were formerly possessed by the Netherlanders, and which still bear the names given by them. These facts, with various other matters, constitute sufficient and abundant proof that the river belongs to the Netherlanders, and not to the Swedes, whose beginnings can be shown by witnesses to have been made only eleven years ago, in the year 1638,‡

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* Christina creek. † Translated, *Skulking creek.* ‡ See Note C, *post.*

when one *Minne-wits*, who before that time had had the Direction at the Manathans, on behalf of the West India Company, arrived in the river with the ship *Kalmer-Sleutel* (Key of Calmar), and the yacht *Vogel-Gryp* (Griffen), giving out to the Netherlanders who lived up the river, under the company, and the Heer Vander Nederhorst, that he was on a voyage to the West Indies, and that, passing by there, he wished to do some repairs and to furnish the ships with water and wood, and would then leave. Some time afterwards, some of our people going there again found that the Swedes had done more, and had already made a small garden for raising salads, pot-herbs, and the like. They wondered at this, and inquired of the Swedes what it meant, and whether they intended to stay there. They excused themselves by various reasons and subterfuges, but notwithstanding which it was supposed such was their design. Still later became apparent, from their building a fort, what their intentions were. Director Kieft, when he obtained information of the matter, protested against it, but in vain. It was plainly and clearly to be seen, in the progress of the affair, that they did not intend to leave. It is matter of evidence that above *Maghchachansie*,* near the *Sankikans*,† the arms of their High Mightinesses were erected by order of Director Kieft, as a symbol that the river, with all the country and the lands

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* *Maghchachansie*, or, as it is spelt by Campanius, *Mekansio-sippus*, was, as its termination denotes, a small stream, which emptied into the Delaware on the east side, probably Crosswick creek at Bordentown.

† The Sankikans were seated at Assinpink, now Trenton.

around there, were held and owned under their High Mightinesses. But what fruits has it produced as yet, other than continued derision and derogation of dignity? For the Swedes, with intolerant insolence, have thrown down the arms, which are suffered to remain so, and this is looked upon by them, and particularly by their governor, as a Roman achievement. True, we have made several protests, as well against this as against other transactions; but they have had as much effect as *the flying of a crow overhead;* and it is believed that if this governor had a supply of men, there would be more madness in him than there has been in the English or any of their governors. In brief, in regard to the Swedes, the company's officers will be able to make a more pertinent explanation, as all the papers remain with them; besides, it is to their journals we ourselves refer.

The English have sought at different times and places to colonize this river, which, they say, is annexed to their territory, but this has as yet been prevented by different protests. We have also expelled them by force, well knowing that if they once settled there, we should lose the river or hold it with difficulty, as they would swarm there in great numbers. There are great reports daily, that the English will soon repair there with many families. It is certain that if they do come and nestle down there, they will soon possess it so completely, that neither Hollanders nor Swedes, in a short time, will have much to say; at least, we run a chance of losing the whole or the greatest part of the river, if remarkable precaution be not used. It could be retained if there were a population; but the

managers of the company to this day have no regard to peopling the country worth the while, though the subject has been fully brought before them in several documents. They have been otherwise employed; for it has been with this matter as with the rest, that avarice has blinded wisdom. The report now is that the English intend to build a village and trading-house there; and, indeed, if they begin, there is nobody in this country who, on the company's behalf, can or apparently will make much effort to prevent them. Not longer ago than last year, several free persons,* some of whom were our own countrymen who had or could have good masters in Fatherland, wished to establish a trading-house and erect some breweries in the plantation, upon condition that certain privileges and exemptions should be extended to them; but this was refused by the general, saying, that he could not do it, not having any order or authority from the noble lords mayors; but, if they were willing to begin there without privileges, they could do so. And when we represented to his Honor that such were offered by our neighbors all around us, if we would only declare ourselves willing to be called members of their government, and that this place ran a thousand dangers from the Swedes and English, his Honor answered that it was well known to be as we said (as he himself did, in fact, well know), and that the reason was also before us, that the orders which he had from the mayors †

* *Free persons* were those who come to New Netherland, not as colonists under the patroons, or as employés of the West India Company, but on their own account.

† Managers, called *Majors.*

were so, and he could not answer for them. Now, we are ignorant in these matters, but one thing or the other must be true, either it is the fault of the director or managers, or of both of them. However it may be, one shifts the blame upon the other, and between them both every thing goes to ruin. Foreigners enjoy the country and fare very well; they laugh at us if we say any thing; they enjoy privileges and exemptions which, if our Netherlanders had enjoyed as they do, would, without doubt—next to the help of God, without which we are powerless—have enabled our people to flourish as well or better than they do; *ergo*, the company or their officers have hitherto been and are still the cause of its not faring better with the country. On account of their cupidity and bad management there is no hope, so long as the land is under their government, that it will go on any better; but it will grow worse. This, however, is not the proper place to speak of these things.

Of the Situation and Goodness of the Waters.

Having given an account of the situation of the country and its boundaries, and having consequently spoken of the location of the rivers, it will not be foreign to our purpose to add a word as to the goodness and convenience of the waters; which are salt, brackish, or fresh, according to their locality. There are in New Netherland four principal rivers; the most southerly is usually called the South river, and the bay at its entrance, Godyn's Bay. It is so called,

not because it runs to the south, but because it is the most southerly river in New Netherland. Another, which this lies south of or nearest to, and which is the most important as regards trade and population, is called *Rio Montanjes*, from certain mountains, and Mauritius river, but generally, the North river, because it reaches farthest north. The third is the East river, so called because it runs east of the Manathans. This is regarded by many not as a river but as a bay, because it is extremely wide in some places, and connects at both ends with the sea. We, however, consider it a river, and such it is commonly reckoned. The fourth is called the Fresh river, because the water is for the most part fresh, more so than the others. Besides these rivers, there are many bays, havens, and inlets, very convenient and useful, some of which might well be classed among rivers. There are numerous bodies of water inland, some large, others small, besides navigable kils like rivers, and many creeks very advantageous for the purpose of navigating through the country, as the map of New Netherland will prove. There are various water-falls and streams, kils fit to erect mills of all kinds upon for the use of man, and innumerable small rivulets over the whole country, like veins in the body; but they are all fresh water, except some on the sea shore, which are salt and fresh or brackish, but very good both for wild and domestic animals to drink. The surplus waters are lost in the rivers or in the sea. Besides all these there are fountains without number, and springs all over, even at places where

water would not be expected; as on cliffs and rocks, whence spring veins are certain to issue. Some of them are worthy of being remembered, not only because they are all (except in the thickets) very clear and pure, but because many have these properties, that in the winter they smoke from heat, and in summer are so cool that the hands can hardly be endured in them on account of the cold, not even in the hottest of the summer; which circumstance makes them pleasant for the use of man and beast, who can partake of them without danger; for if any one drink thereof, it does him no harm although it be very warm weather. Thus much of the proprietorship, location, goodness, and fruitfulness of this province, in which particulars, as far as our little experience extends, it need yield to no province in Europe. As to what concerns trade,—in which Europe, and especially Netherland is pre-eminent,—it not only lies very convenient and proper for it, but if there were inhabitants, it would be found to have more commodities, of and in itself, to export to other countries than it would have to import from them. These things considered, it would be little labor for the mind to estimate and compute exactly what importance this naturally noble province is to the Netherland nation, what service it could render it in future, and what a retreat it would be for all the needy in Netherland, as well of high and middle, as of low degree; for it is much easier for all men of enterprise to obtain a livelihood here than in Netherland.

We cannot sufficiently thank the Fountain of all

Goodness for His having led us into uch a f ruitful and healthful land, which we, with our numerous sins, still heaped up here daily, beyond measure, have not deserved. We are also in the highest degree beholden to the Indians, who not only have given up to us this good and fruitful country, and for a trifle yielded us the ownership, but also have enriched us with their valuable trade, so that there is no one in New Netherland, or who trades to New Netherland, without obligation to them. Great is our disgrace now, and happy should we have been, had we acknowledged these benefits as we ought, and had we striven to impart, as much as was in our power, to the Indians the Eternal Good, in return for what they divided with us. It is to be feared that at the Last Day they will stand up against us for this injury. Lord of Rulers! forgive us for not having conducted therein more according to our reason; give us also the means, and so direct our hearts, that we in future may acquit ourselves as we ought for the salvation of our own souls and of theirs, and for the magnifying of thy Holy Name, for the sake of Christ! Amen!

To speak with deference, it is proper to look beyond the trouble which will be incurred in adjusting the boundaries and the first cost of increasing the population of this country, and to consider that beginnings are difficult, and that sowing would be irksome if the sower were not cheered with the hope of reaping. We trust, and so assure ourselves, that the very great experience of their High Mightinesses will dictate better remedies than we are able to suggest.

But it may be that their High Mightinesses and some other friends before whom this may come, may think strange that we speak as highly of this place as we do, and as we know to be true, and yet complain of want and poverty, seek relief, assistance, redress, lessening of command, population, and the like, and show that the country is in a poor and ruinous condition,—yea, so much so, as that without special aid and assistance it will utterly fall off and pass under foreign rule. It will therefore be necessary to point out the true reasons and causes why New Netherland is in so bad a state, which we will do as simply and truly as possible, according to the facts, as we have seen, experienced, and heard them; and, as this statement will encounter much opposition and reproach from many persons who may take offense at it, we humbly pray their High Mightinesses and all well-wishers, that they do not let the truth yield to any falsehoods, invented and embellished for the purpose, and that they receive no other testimony against this relation than that of such impartial persons as have not had, either directly or indirectly, any hand therein, and are not injuriously affected by the loss of New Netherland, or otherwise under obligation to it. With this remark, we proceed to the reasons and sole cause of the evil which we correctly, but briefly and indistinctly, stated in the beginning of our petition to their High Mightinesses.

Of the Reasons and Causes why and how New Netherland is so decayed.

As we shall speak of the reasons and causes which have brought New Netherland into the ruinous condition in which it is now found to be, we deem it necessary to state the very first difficulties, and for this purpose regard it as we see and find it in our daily experience. As far as our understanding goes, to describe it in one word (and none better presents itself), it is *bad government*, with its attendants and consequences, that is the true and only *foundation stone* of the decay and ruin of New Netherland. This government, from which so much abuse proceeds, is two-fold, that is, in the Fatherland by the managers, and in this country.* We shall first, briefly, and in some order, point out the mistakes in Fatherland, and afterwards proceed to show how abuses have grown up and obtained strength here.

The managers of the company adopted a wrong course at first, and, as we think, had more regard for their own interest that for the welfare of the country, trusting rather to evil than just counsels. This is proven by the unnecessary expenses incurred from time to time, the heavy accounts of New Netherland,† the registering of manors—in which business most of the managers themselves engaged, and in reference to

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* Viz. by the director and council.

† The West India Company had, between the years 1626 and 1644, expended for New Netherland the sum of $220,000.

which they have regulated the trade,—and finally, the not peopling the country. It seems as if from the first, the company have sought to stock this land with their own *employés;* which was a great mistake, for when their time was out they returned home, taking nothing with them, except a little in their purses and a bad name for the country, in regard to its means of sustenance and in other respects. In the mean time there was no profit, but on the contrary heavy monthly expenditures, as the accounts of New Netherland will show.

Had the Honorable West India Company, in the beginning, sought population, instead of running to great expense for unnecessary things, which under more favorable circumstances might have been suitable and very proper, the account of New Netherland would not have been so large as it now is, caused by building the ship New Netherland at an excessive outlay, by erecting three expensive mills, by brick-making, by tar-burning, by ash-burning, by salt-making, and like operations, which through bad management and calculation have all gone to nought, or come to little; but which, nevertheless, have cost much. Had the same money been used in bringing people and importing cattle, the country would now have been of great value.

The land itself is much better, and it is more conveniently situated than that which the English possess; and if there were no interference with individual gain and private trade, there would be no danger of their surpassing us as far as they do.

Had the first exemptions been truly observed, according to their intention, and had they not been carried out with particular views, certainly the friends of New Netherland would have exerted themselves more to take people there and make settlements. The other conditions which were introduced have always discouraged individuals and kept them down, so that those who were acquainted with the business dare not attempt it. It is very true that the company have brought over some persons; but they have not continued to do so, and it therefore has done little good. It was not begun properly; for it was merely accidental, and was not intended.

It is impossible for us to state pertinently wherein and how often the company have acted injuriously to this country. They have not approved of our own countrymen settling the land, as is shown in the case of Jacob Walingen and his people at the Fresh river, and quite recently in the cases at the South river;—while, at the same time, foreigners were permitted to go there without opposition or protest. It is known they are censurable in other respects; the garrisons are not kept complete, conformably to the exemptions, and thus the cause of New Netherland's bad conditions lurks as well in Netherland as here. Yea, the seeds of war, according to the declaration of Director Kieft, were first sown by the Fatherland; for he said he had express orders to exact the contribution from the Indians; which would have been very well if the land had been peopled, but as it was, it was premature.

Trade, without which, when it is legitimate, no

country is prosperous, is by their acts so decayed, that the like is nowhere else. It is more suited for slaves than freemen, in consequence of the restrictions upon it, and the annoyances which accompany the exercise of the right of inspection. We approve of inspection, however, so far as relates to contraband.

This contraband trade has ruined the country, though it is now excluded from every part of it by orders given by the managers to their officers. These orders should be executed without partiality, which is not always the case. The Recognition* runs high, and of inspection and confiscation there is no lack; hence, true trade is entirely diverted, except a little, which exists *pro formâ*, as a cloak to carry on smuggling. In the mean time the Christians are treated almost like Indians, in the purchase of the necessaries with which they cannot dispense. This causes great complaint, distress, and poverty: as, for example, the merchants sell those goods which are liable to little depreciation, at a hundred per cent. and more profit, when there is no particular demand or scarcity of them. And the traders who come with small cargoes, and others engaged in the business, buy them up from the merchants and sell them again to the common man, who cannot do without them, oftentimes at a hundred per cent. advance, and higher or lower according as it suits them. Upon liquors, which are liable to much leakage, they take more, and those who buy from them retail them in the same manner as we have described in regard to

* A tax in the nature of an export duty.

dry wares, and generally at as much profit, so that the goods are in first, second, and sometimes in third hands, at one and two hundred per cent. and more advance. We are not able to think of all the practices which are contrived for advancing individual gain. Little attention is given to populating the land. The people, moreover, have been driven away by harsh and unreasonable proceedings, for which their Honors gave the orders; for the managers wrote to Director Kieft to prosecute when there was no offense, and to consider a partial offense (*faute*) an entire one, and so forth. It has also to be seen how the letters of the Eight Men were treated, and what followed thereupon; besides there were many ruinous orders and instructions which are not known to us. But leaving this at present, with now and then a word, as it is scarcely worth relating, —let us proceed to examine how their officers and directors have conducted themselves from time to time, having played with the managers as well as with the people, as a cat does with a mouse. It would be possible to relate their management from the beginning, but as most of us were not here then and therefore not eye-witnesses, and as a long time has passed whereby it has partly escaped recollection, and as in our view it was not so bad then as afterwards when the land was made free and freemen began to increase, we will pass by the beginning, and let Mr. Lubbert van Dincklaghen, Vice Director of New Netherland, describe the government of Director Wouter Van Twiller, of which he is known to have information, and will only speak of the last two miserable and impoverished

administrations. We would speak well of the government under Director Kieft, who is now no more; but the evil of it lives after him; and of that under Director Stuyvesant, which still stands, if indeed that may be called standing, which lies completely under foot.

The directors here, though far from their masters, were close by their profit. They have always known how to manage their own matters with little loss, and under pretext of the public business. They have also conducted themselves just as if they were the sovereigns of the country. As they desired to have it, so always has it been; and as they willed, so was it done. "The Managers," they say, "are masters in Fatherland, but we are masters in this land." As they understand it so it is, there is no appeal. And it has not been difficult for them hitherto to maintain this doctrine in practice; for the people were few and for the most part very simple and uninformed, and besides, had transactions with the directors every day. As there were some intelligent men among them, *who could go upon their own feet*, them it was sought to oblige. They could not understand at first the arts of the directors, which were always subtle and dark, inasmuch as they were very frequently successful and for a long time quite advantageous. Director Kieft said himself and let it be said also by others, that he was sovereign in this country, the same as the Prince in Netherland. This was told him several times here, and he never made any particular objection to it. The refusing to allow appeals, and other similar acts, prove clearly that in regard to us it is just as they say and not otherwise.

The present director does the same, and in the denial of appeal, *he is at home.* He asserts the maxim, "The Prince is above the law," and applies it so boldly to his own person that he is even ashamed of it himself. These directors having, then, the power in their own hands, can do and have done what they chose according to their good will and pleasure; and whatever was, was right, because it was agreeable to them. It is well known that those who accept power, and use it to command what they will, frequently command and will more than they ought, whether it appear well or not. So, too, there are always some persons who applaud such conduct, some out of a desire to make mischief, others from fear, and yet still complain, with Jan Vergas, *de clementia ducis*—of the clemency of the duke. But in order that we give nobody cause to suspect that we *blow any too hard*, it will be proper to illustrate by examples the government of Mr. Director Kieft at its close, and the administration of Mr. Director Stuyvesant just prior to the time of our departure thence. We frankly admit, however, that we will not be able to speak of them fully, because they were conducted so secretly and with such duplicity and craft. We will nevertheless expose some of their proceedings according to our ability, and thus let the lion be judged of from his paw.

Casting our eyes upon the government of Director Kieft, the church first meets us, and we will therefore speak of the public property ecclesiastical and civil. But as this man is now dead, and some of his management and doings are freely represented by one Jochem

Pietersz Cuyter and Cornelis Melyn,* we will dispose of this point as briefly as we possibly can.

Before the time that Director Kieft brought the unnecessary war upon the country, his principal aim and endeavors were to provide well for himself and to leave a great name after him, but without any expense to himself or the company. He never did any thing remarkable for the country by which it was improved. Thus, he considered the erection of a church a very necessary public work, the more so as it was in contemplation to build one, at that time, at Renselaers Wyck. With this view he communicated with the church wardens,—of which body he himself was one, —and they willingly agreed to and seconded the project. The place where it should stand was then debated. The director contended that it should be placed in the fort, and there it was erected in spite of the others, and indeed as suitably *as a fifth wheel to a wagon;* for, besides that the fort is small and lies upon a point of land which must be very valuable in case of an increase of population, the church ought to be owned by the congregation at whose cost it was built. It also intercepts and turns off the south wind from the gristmill, which stands close by; for which reason there is frequently in summer a want of bread, from its inability to grind, though not from this cause alone. The mill is neglected, and, in consequence of remaining idle most of the time, has become considerably rotten, so

* Cuyter and Melyn had arraigned Kieft before Stuyvesant, and upon his acquittal had appealed to the States General in Netherland, whither they had been banished on that account.

that it cannot now be made to go with more than two arms, and it has been so for nearly five years. But to return to the church,—from which the grist-mill has somewhat diverted us,—the director then resolved to build a church, and at the place where it suited him; but he was in want of money, and was at a loss how to obtain it. It happened about this time that the minister, Everadus Bogardus, gave his daughter in marriage; and the occasion of the wedding the director considered a good opportunity for his purpose. So after the fourth or fifth round of drinking, he set about the business, and, he himself showing a liberal example, let the wedding-guests subscribe what they were willing to give towards the church. All then with light heads subscribed largely, competing with one another; and although some well repented it when they got home, they were nevertheless compelled to pay,—nothing could avail to prevent it. The church was then, contrary to every consideration of propriety, placed in the fort. The honor and ownership of that work must be judged of from the inscription, which is in our opinion ambiguous, thus reading: "1642. WILLEM KIEFT, DIRECTEUR GENERAEL, HEEFT DE GHEMEENTE DESEN TEMPEL DOEN BOUWEN." (1642. *William Kieft, Director General, has caused the congregation to build this church*). But whatever be intended by the inscription, the people nevertheless paid for the church.*

We must now speak of the property belonging to

* See Note D, *post*.

the church; and, to do the truth no violence, we do not know that there has ever been any, or that the church has any income except what is given to it. There has never been any exertion made either by the company or by the director to obtain or provide any.

The bowl has been going round a long time for the purpose of erecting a common school, and it has been built with words; but as yet the first stone is not laid. Some materials only are provided. The money, nevertheless, given for the purpose has all found its way out, and is mostly spent; so that it falls short, and no permanent benefit has as yet been derived from it.

For the poor, who are, however, otherwise well provided for, nothing is done except the alms collected among the people, and some fines and donations of the inhabitants. A considerable portion of this money is in the possession of the company, who have been spending it from time to time, and have promised, for a year and upwards, to pay interest. Little attention, however, is given to this promise, so that neither principal nor interest can be obtained from them.

Flying reports about asylums for orphans, for the sick and aged, and the like, have occasionally been heard; but as yet no attempt, order, or direction has been made in relation to them. From all these facts, then, it sufficiently appears that scarcely any proper care or diligence has been used by the company or its officers for any ecclesiastical property whatever,—at least, nothing as far as is known,—from the beginning to this time; but, on the contrary, great industry and exertion have been used to attach and bind closely to

them their minions, as we shall hereafter at the proper time relate. And now let us proceed to the consideration of what public measures of a civil character had been adopted up to the time of our departure, in order to make manifest the diligence and care of the directors in this particular.

There was not at first, under the government of Director Kieft, so much opportunity as there has since been; — because the recognition of the peltries was then paid in the Fatherland, and the freemen gave nothing for excise; but after that public calamity, the rash war, was brought upon us, the recognition of the peltries began to be collected in this country, and a beer-excise was sought to be established, about which a conference was had with the Eight Men * who were then chosen from the people. As they did not understand it, they desired to know under what regulations and upon what footing it would take place, and how long it would continue. Director Kieft promised that it should not continue longer than until a ship of the company should arrive with a new director, or until the war should be at an end. Although it was very much distrusted by all, and was not consented to, yet he introduced it by force. The brewers who would not agree to it, had their beer given a prize to the soldiers. It has been continued in force ever since, and has caused great strife and discontent.

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* The *Eight Men* and the *Twelve Men* were chosen during the Indian difficulties, the latter in 1641, and the former in 1643, to advise with the director, like the *Nine Men* subsequently.

From this time forward, the director began to divide the people and to set up party. Those who were on his side could do nothing amiss, however bad it might be; — those who were opposed to him were always wrong in whatever they did well; and the order to reckon half an offense a whole one was then enforced. The jealousy of the director was so great, that he could not bear without suspicion that impartial persons should visit his partisans.

After the war was, as the director himself said, finished,—though in our opinion it will never be finished until the country is populated,—everyone hoped that this impost would be removed; but Director Kieft put off the removal until the arrival of a new director, who was delayed for some time thereafter. When, finally, he did appear, it was like the crowning of Rehoboam; for, instead of abolishing the beer-excise, his first business was to impose a wine-excise and other intolerable burdens; so that some of the commonalty, as they had no remedy, were constrained to remonstrate against the same. Instead, however, of obtaining the relief which they expected, they received abuse from the director. Subsequently a written answer was given them, that a director like him usually had such large and ample powers that poor common people, as are here, made mistakes in relation to them, and should submit to them without relief. Further attempts have accordingly been made from time to time to introduce new taxes and duties. In fine it was so managed in Director Kieft's time, that a large yearly sum was received from the recognition and other sources, calcu-

lated to amount annually to 16,000 guilders,* besides the recognition which was paid in the Fatherland, and which was paid in effect here by the poor commonalty; for the goods were thereby run up exorbitantly high and sold to them. In Director Stuyvesant's administration the revenue has reached a much higher sum, and it is estimated that about 30,000 guilders † are now derived yearly from the people, by recognitions, confiscations, excise, and other taxes. Though it is not right that the more one has the more he should have, yet this was submitted to in order to give as much as possible, when it was designed for the public weal. And, whereas in all the proclamations it was promised and declared that the money should be employed for laudable and necessary public works, let us now look for a moment and see what laudable public works there are in this country, and what fruits all the donations and contributions have hitherto borne. But, not to err herein, is it not necessary that we should know what goods and effects belong to the Honorable Company as its own? for what belongs to it particularly is not public. The company's effects in this country may, perhaps, with forts, cannon, ammunition, warehouses, dwelling-houses, work-shops, horses, cattle, boats, and whatever else there may be, amount to from 60,000 to 70,000 guilders;‡ and it is very probable that the debts against it are considerably more. But, passing these by, let us turn our attention to the public property, and see where the money from time to

* $6,400. † $12,000. ‡ From $24,000 to $28,000.

time has been used. According to the proclamations during the administration of Director Kieft, if we rightly consider and examine them all, we cannot learn or discover that any thing—we say *any thing*, large or small—worth relating, was done, built or made, which concerned or belonged to the commonalty, the church excepted, whereof we have heretofore spoken. Yea, it has gone on so badly and negligently, that nothing has ever been designed, understood, or done that gave appearance of content to the people, even externally; but on the contrary, what came from the commonalty has even been mixed up with the effects of the company, and even the company's property and means have been everywhere neglected, in order to make friends, to secure witnesses, and to avoid accusers about the management of the war. The negroes, also, who came from Tamandare,* were sold for pork and peas, from the proceeds of which something wonderful was to be performed, but they just dripped through the fingers. There are, also, various other negroes in this country, some of whom have been made free for their long service; but their children have remained slaves, though it is contrary to the laws of every people that any one born of a Christian mother should be a slave and be compelled to remain in servitude. It is impossible to relate every thing that has happened. Whoever did not give his assent and approval was watched, and, when it was convenient, was summoned.

* The name of a bay on the coast of Brazil, where the Dutch Admiral, Lichthart, obtained a signal triumph over the Portuguese in a naval engagement, on the 9th of September, 1645.

We submit to all intelligent persons, to consider what fruit this has borne, and what a way this was to obtain good testimony. Men are by nature covetous, especially those who are needy; and of this we will hereafter adduce some few proofs, when we come to speak of Director Kieft's government particularly. But to proceed now to the administration of Director Stuyvesant, and to see how affairs have been conducted up to the time of our departure. Mr. Stuyvesant has most all the time from his first arrival up to our leaving, been busy building, laying masonry, making, breaking, repairing, and the like, but generally in matters of the company, and with little profit to it; for upon some things more was spent than they were worth; and though, at the first, he put in order the church, which came into his hands very much out of repair, and shortly afterwards made a wooden wharf, both of which are very serviceable and convenient, yet after this time we do not know that any thing has been done or made that is entitled to the name of a public work, though there has been income enough, as is to be seen in the statement of the yearly revenue. Nothing more was afterwards attempted, as is the case with dropsical people. Thus in a short time very great discontent has sprung up on all sides, not only among the burghers, who had little to say, but also among the company's officers themselves; so that various protests were made by them on account of the expense and waste consequent upon unnecessary councilors, officers, servants, and the like, who are not known by the mayors, and also on account of the moneys and means

which were given in common, being privately appropriated and used. But it was all in vain, there was very little or no amendment; and the greater the endeavors to help, restore, and raise up every thing, the worse has it been; for pride has ruled when justice dictated otherwise, just as if it were disgraceful to follow advice, and as if every thing should come from one head. The fruits of this conduct can speak and bear testimony of themselves. It has been so now so long, that every day serves the more to condemn it. Previously to the 23d of July, 1649, nothing had been done concerning weights and measures, or the like; but at that time they notified the people that in August then next ensuing, an order would be made stating when the fiscal would do something about it, which was as much as to say, *when he would give the pigeons drink.* There is frequently much discontent and discord among the people on account of weights and measures, and if they be not regulated nothing can be right. It is also believed that some large consciences have two sets of them, but we cannot affirm the fact. As to the corn measure, the company itself has always been suspected; but who dare lisp it? The payment in Zeewant, which is the currency here, has never been placed upon a good footing, although the commonalty requested it, and showed how it should be regulated, assigning numerous reasons therefor. But it always produced strife and discontent; and if any thing were said before the director of these matters, more than pleased him, very wicked and spiteful words were returned. Those, moreover, who made it their business

to speak to him of such things were, if he were in no good fit, very freely berated as clowns and bear-skinners.

The fort under which we shelter ourselves, and from which, as it seems, all authority proceeds, lies like a mole heap or a tottering wall, on which there is not one gun-carriage or one piece of cannon in a suitable frame or on a good platform. From the first it has been declared that it should be repaired, laid in five angles, and put in royal condition. The commonalty's men have been addressed for money for the purpose, but they excused themselves on the ground that the people were poor. Everyone was discontented, and feared that if the director once had the fort to rely upon, he would be more cruel and severe. It is left *sticking* between them. He will doubtless know how to lay the blame upon the commonalty who are innocent, with much circumstance, although the director wished to have the money from them, and for that purpose pretended to have an order from their High Mightinesses. Had the director laid out the fourth part of the money which was collected from the commonalty during his time, for that purpose, it certainly would not have fallen short, as the wine excise was expressly laid for that object. But it was sought, in a thousand ways, *to shear the sheep though the wool was not yet grown.* In regard, then, to public works, there is little difference between Director Kieft and Director Stuyvesant; for, after the church was built, the former was negligent, and made it a personal matter against those who *looked him in the eye.* The latter has had

much more opportunity to assist the commonalty than his predecessor had, for he has had no war on his hands. He is also unlike his predecessor, in having been more diligent and bitter in looking up causes of prosecution against his innocent opponents.

The Administration of Director Kieft in particular.

Sufficient has been said of what Director Kieft did in regard to the church and its affairs, and in regard to the state, such as buildings and taxes or revenue. It remains for us to proceed to the council-house, and produce thence some examples, as we promised. We will, in doing so, endeavor to be brief.

The council then consisted of Director Kieft and Monsieur la Montagne. The director had two votes, and Monsieur la Montagne one; and it was a high crime to appeal from their judgments. Cornelis van der Hoykens sat with them as fiscal,* and Cornelis van Tienhoven as secretary; and whenever any thing extraordinary occurred, the director allowed some, whom it pleased him,—officers of the company for the most part,—to be summoned in addition; but that seldom happened. Nevertheless it gave discontent. The Twelve Men, and afterwards the Eight, had in lawful matters neither vote nor advice; but were chosen in view of the war and some other occurrences, to serve as cloaks and cats-paws. Otherwise, they were of no

* Prosecuting Attorney. His name is usually spelt Van der Huyghens.

consideration; and were little respected if they opposed at all the views of the director, who himself imagined, and indeed wished to make others believe, that he was sovereign, and that it was absolutely in his power to do and permit any thing. He little regarded the safety of the people as the supreme law, as clearly appeared in the war; although when the *spit was turned in the ashes*, it was sought by cunning and numerous certificates and petitions to shift the blame upon others. But that happened so because the war was carried too far. Everyone laid the damage and the blood which was shed to his account. La Montagne said that he had protested against it, and was concerned in it at first against his will and to his great regret, and that afterwards, when according to his judgment it was best to do so, he had pretended to assist. The secretary, Cornelis van Tienhoven, also said that he had no hand in the matter, and nothing had been done by him in regard to it except by the express orders of the director. But this was not believed, for there are those who have heard La Montagne say that if the secretary had not brought a false report the affair would never have happened.* There are others also who know this, and everyone believes it to be so; and indeed it has plausibility. Fiscal van der Hoykens was not trusted, on account of his drinking, wherein all his science consists. He had also no

* He had been sent to Pavonia [Hoboken] to reconnoitre the position of the Indians.

experience here, and in the beginning frequently denounced the war as being against his will. So that the blame rests, and must rest, only upon the director and Secretary Tienhoven. The director was entrusted with the highest authority; and if anybody advised him to the land's ruin, he was not bound to follow the advice. He afterwards endeavored to shift the burden from his own neck upon the people; who, however, excuse themselves, although, in our judgment, they are not all entirely innocent. The cause of this war we conceive to have been the exacting of the contribution (for which the director said he had the order of the mayors), and his own ungovernable passions, which showed themselves principally in private. But there are friends whom this business intimately concerns; and as they have already undertaken it, we will leave the matter with them, and proceed to adduce one or two proofs disclosing the aspiration after sovereignty. Passing by many cases for the sake of brevity, we have that of one Francis Doughty, an English minister, and of Arnoldus van Herdenberch, a free merchant. But as these cases appear in the matters to come before their High Mightinesses in full conclave, we will merely give a summary of them. This minister, Francis Doughty, during the first troubles in England, in order to escape them, came to New England. But he found that he had got from the pan into the fire. Wherefore, in order that he might, in conformity with the Dutch reformation, have freedom of conscience, which, contrary to his expectation, he missed in New England, he betook himself to the protection of the Dutch. An

absolute ground-brief,* with manorial privileges, was granted to him by the director. He had increased his settlement, in the course of one year, by the addition of several families; but the war coming on, they were driven from their lands, with the loss of some men and many cattle, besides most all their houses and what other property they had. They afterwards returned and remained a while; but consuming more than they were able to raise, they came to Manathans, where all the inhabitants at that time had fled; and there Master Doughty officiated as a minister. After the flame of war was out and the peace was concluded,—but in such a manner that no one much relied upon it,—some of the people again returned to their lands. The director would have been glad, in order that all things should be completely restored, if this man had done the same, and had gone back upon his land;—but inasmuch as the peace was doubtful, and he had not wherewith to begin, Master Doughty was in no haste. He went, however, sometime afterwards, and dwelt there half a year, but again left it. As peace was made, and in

* Conveyance. Mespat or Maspeth, which was thus conveyed, is in the town of Newtown, in Queens county. Doughty was one of the first purchasers of Taunton, Mass., in 1637. (Baylies' New Plymouth, i. 288). He was driven from New England because he held that "children who were of baptized parents—and so Abraham's children—ought to be baptized" (Lechford's "Plaine Dealing," 40–41). In September, 1666, his son brought a suit to recover his unpaid salary as minister at Flushing. An order of the town court was produced, dated February 2, 1647, to assess the inhabitants of the town for the salary. It was given in evidence that the town had been compelled by Stuyvesant to sign the articles for the minister, he taking them one after another in a room, and threatening them if they did not. The court ordered a part of the money to be paid.

hope that some others would make a village there, a suit was brought against the minister, and carried on so far, that his land was confiscated. Master Doughty, feeling himself aggrieved, appealed from the sentence. The director answered, his sentence could not be appealed from, but must avail absolutely; and caused the minister for that remark to be imprisoned twenty-four hours, and then to pay 25 guilders. We have always considered this an act of tyranny, and regarded it as a token of sovereignty. The matter of Arnoldus van Herdenberch was very like it in its termination. After Zeger Theunisz was murdered by the Indians in the *Beregat*,* and the yacht had returned to the Manathans, Arnoldus van Hardenbergh was, with two others, appointed by the director and council, curators over the estate, and the yacht was searched. Some goods were found in it which were not inventoried, whereupon the fiscal went to law with the curators, and claimed that the goods were confiscable to the company. The curators resisted, and gave Herdenberch charge of the matter. After some proceedings the goods were condemned. As he found himself now acting in behalf of the common owners, he appealed to such judges as they should choose for the purpose. The same game was then played over again. It was a high crime. The fiscal made great pretensions, and a sentence was passed, whereof the contents read thus: "Having seen the written complaint of the Fiscal van der Hoykens against Arnoldus van Hardenberch in

* Shrewsbury Inlet.

relation to appealing from our sentence dated the 28th April last past, as appears by the signature of the before-named A. van Hardenberch, from which sentence no appeal can be had, as is proven to him by the commission of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General and his Highness of Orange: therefore the Director General and Council of New Netherland, regarding the dangerous consequences resulting to the supreme authority of this land's magistracy, condemn the before-named Arnold van Herdenberch, to pay forthwith a fine of 25 guilders, or to be imprisoned until the penalty be paid. An example to others." Now, if one know the lion from his paw, he can see that these people do not regard the name of their High Mightinesses, his Highness of Orange, the honor of the Magistrates, the words, "dangerous consequences," "an example to others," and the like,—having used them to play their own parts therewith. We have, therefore, placed this act by the side of that which was committed against the minister Doughty. Many more similar cases would be found in the minute book, if what was unjustly done were always inserted in it, which is very doubtful, the contrary sometimes being observed. It appears sufficiently, that pretty much every thing has been badly managed. And with this we will leave the subject and pass on to the government of Director Stuyvesant, with a single word first, however, touching the proviso incorporated in the ground-briefs, as the consequences may thence be very well understood. Absolute grants were made to the people by the ground-briefs, who thought that every

thing was right, and that they were masters of their own possessions. The ground-briefs were then demanded from them again upon pretense that there was something forgotten in them; but it amounted to nothing except that they thought they had incommoded themselves in giving them, and therefore a proviso was added to the ground-brief below, and it was signed anew; which proviso directly conflicts with the ground-brief, as there is now in one and the same ground-brief a contradiction without semblance of agreement; for it reads thus in the old brief;—"and take in possession the land and the valleys appertaining thereto," and the proviso says, "no valley to be used before the company," all which could well enough be used, and the company have a competency. In the ground-briefs is contained also another provision, which is usually inserted and *sticks in the bosom* of everyone; to wit, that they must submit themselves to all taxes which the council has made or shall make.* These impositions can be continued *in infinitum*, and have already been enforced against several inhabitants. Others also are discouraged from undertaking any thing on such terms.

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* The following clause, taken from a ground-brief or patent issued in 1639, is the one here alluded to. After describing the land conveyed, it is declared to be "upon the express condition and stipulation that the said A. B. and his assigns shall acknowledge the noble Lords Managers aforesaid as their masters and patroons under the sovereignty of the High and Mighty Lord States' General, and shall be obedient to the director and council here, as all good citizens are bound to be, submitting themselves to all such taxes and imposts as have been or may be, hereafter, imposed by the noble Lords.

The Administration of Director Stuyvesant in particular.

We wish much we were already through with this administration, for it has injured us, and we perceive our ability weak;—nevertheless we will begin, and as we have already spoken of the public property, ecclesiastical and civil, we will consider how it is in regard to the administration of justice, and speak impartially between man and man. And first, to point as with a finger, at the manners of the director and council. As regards the director, from his first arrival to this time, his manner in court has been to treat with violence, dispute with, or advance one of the two parties, not as becomes a judge, but as a bounden advocate, which has given great discontent to everyone, and with some it has gone so far and has effected so much, that many of them dare bring no matter before the court, if they do not stand well, or tolerably so, with the director. For whoever has him opposed, has as much as *the sun and moon against him.* Having himself appointed many of the councilors, and placed them under obligation to him, and some of them being for other reasons well disposed, he can with them overpower the rest by plurality of votes. He frequently puts his opinion in writing, and that so fully that it strikes on every side, and then he adds verbally, "Monsieur, this is my advice, if anyone has aught to say against it, let him speak." If then anybody makes opposition, which is not easily done, though he be well grounded, his Honor bursts out

immediately in such a fury, and makes such gestures, that it is frightful; yea, he rails out frequently at the councilors, for this thing and the other, with ill words which would better suit the fish-market than the council chamber;—and if this be all endured, his Honor will not rest yet unless he have his will. To demonstrate this by examples and proof, though easily done, would nevertheless detain us too long; but we all say and affirm that this has been his common practice from the first, and still daily continues. And this is the condition of things in the council, on the part of the director, who is its head and president. Let us now briefly speak of the councilors individually. The vice director, *Lubbert van Dincklagen*, has for a long time, on various occasions, shown great dissatisfaction about many different matters, and has protested against the director and his appointed councilors, but only lately, and after some others of the chief officers had done so. He was, before this, so influenced by fear, that he durst venture to say nothing against the director, but let many things pass by, and submitted to them. He declared afterwards that he had great objections to them, because they were not just, but he kept silence for the sake of peace; for the director had said in the council, that he would treat him worse than Wouter van Twiller had ever done, if he were not willing to conform to his wishes. This man, then, is over-ruled. Let us proceed to the others. *Monsieur la Montagne* had been in the council in Kieft's time, and was then very much suspected by many. He had no commission from the Fatherland, was driven by the war from his farm, is also

very much indebted to the company, and therefore is compelled to dissemble. But it is sufficiently known from himself that he is not pleased, and is opposed to the administration. *Bryan Newton*, lieutenant of the soldiers, is the next. This man is afraid of the director, and regards him as his benefactor; and besides, is very simple and inexperienced in law. As he does not understand our Dutch language, he is scarcely capable of replying to the long written opinions, except that he can and will say *yes*. Sometimes the commissary, *Adrian Keyser*, is admitted into the council, who came here as secretary. This man has not forgotten much law, but says that he *lets God's water run over God's field.* He cannot and dares not say any thing, for so much devolves upon him that it is best that he should be silent. The captains of the ships, when they are ashore, have a vote in the council; as *Jelmer Thomassen*, and *Paulus Lenaertssen*, who was made equipment master upon his first arrival, and who has always had a seat in the council, and is a free man. What knowledge those people, who all their lives sail on the sea, and are brought up to ship-work, have of law matters, and of the disputes of landsmen, anyone can easily imagine. Besides, the director keeps them so in debt that they dare not speak in opposition to him, as will appear from this passage at Curaçoa, before the director ever saw New Netherland. As they were discoursing about the price of carracks (*crakis**), the director said to the minister

* The meaning of this word is uncertain. *Crackys* is an old Scotch term, signifying cannon. See Jamieson's Ety. Dict. of the Scotch language. *Krak*, or *Kraak*, in the Dutch, answers to *carrack*, a galleon or large ship.

and others, "Dominie Johannes,* I thought that I had brought honest ship-masters with me, but I find that I have brought a set of thieves;" and this was said of these councilors, and especially of the equipment-master, for Captain Jelmer was most all the time at sea. They have let it pass unnoticed,—a proof that they were indebted. But they have not fared badly; for though Paulus Lenaertssen has small wages, he has built a better dwelling-house here than anybody else. How this has happened is mysterious to us; for if the director has knowledge of these matters, he is nevertheless as quiet when Paulus Lenaertssen rises, as he is inattentive to anybody else, which causes suspicion in the minds of many. There remains, to complete this court-bench, the secretary and the fiscal, *Hendrick van Dyck*, who had previously been an ensign-bearer. Director Stuyvesant has kept him twenty-nine months out of the meetings of the council, for the reason, among others which his Honor assigned, that he cannot keep secret, but makes public, what is there resolved. He also frequently declared that he was a villain, a scoundrel, a thief, and the like. All this is well known to the fiscal, who dares not against him take the right course, and, in our judgment, it is not advisable for him to do so; for the director is utterly insufferable in word and deed. What shall we say of a man whose head is troubled, and *has a screw loose*, and who is powerful at home; especially as it often happens that it is hushed up, *if there be any sap in the wood* to close it up?

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* Rev. Johannes Backerus.

The secretary, *Cornelius Van Tienhoven*, comes next. Of this man very much could be said, and more than we are able, but we will select here and there a little for the sake of brevity. He is cautious, subtle, intelligent, and sharp-witted,—good gifts when they are well used. He is one of those who have been longest in the country, and every circumstance is well known to him, in regard both to the Christians and the Indians. With the Indians, moreover, he roams about the same as an Indian, with a little covering and a small patch in front, from lust after the prostitutes, to whom he has always been mightily inclined, and with whom he has had so much to do that no punishment or threats of the director can drive him from them. He is extremely expert in dissimulation. He appears to all to be asleep, but it is in order to bite, and shows externally the most friendship towards those whom he most hates. He gives everyone who has any business with him,—which scarcely no one can avoid,—good answers and promises of assistance, yet rarely helps anybody; but twists continually and shuffles from one side to the other. Except to his friends,—the priests,—he is in his words and conduct loose, false, deceitful, and given to lying, promising everyone, and when it comes to perform, *never at home.* The origin of the war was ascribed principally to him, together with some of his friends. In consequence of his false reports and lies the director was led into it, as is believed and declared both by the honest Indians and Christians. Now, if the voice of the people,—according to the maxim,—be the voice of God, one can with truth say

scarcely any thing good of this man, or omit any thing bad. The whole country, save the director and his party, cries out against him bitterly, as a villain, murderer, and traitor, who must leave the country, or there will be no peace with the Indians. Director Stuyvesant was, at first and afterwards, well admonished of this; but he has nevertheless kept him in office, and submitted to him so much, that all things go according to his wishes, more than if he were President. Yea, he also says that he is well contented to have him in office, *but that stone does not yet rest.** We firmly believe that he misleads him in many things, so that he does many bad things which he otherwise would not do; in a word, that he is one great cause of his ruin and the land's disquiet. But it seems that the director can or will see nothing of it; for when it was represented to him by some persons, he gave it no consideration. It has been contrived to disguise and manage matters so, that in the Fatherland, where the truth can be freely spoken, nobody would be able to molest him. Nothing has been done there to get at the truth. Having established the powers of the council, it is easy to understand that the law-people clung by each other, in order to maintain the imaginary sovereignty and to give color to that pretension. Nine men were chosen to represent the whole commonalty, and commissions and instructions were given, that whatever these men should do, should be the act of the whole commonalty.

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* By this figurative expression is probably meant that efforts would be made in the Fatherland to have Van Tienhoven removed.

And so, in fact, it was, as long as it corresponded with the wishes and views of the director. In such cases, they represented the whole commonalty; but when it did not so correspond, they were then clowns, usurers, rebels, and the like. But to understand this properly, it will be best briefly to state all things chronologically, as they have happened during his administration, and in what manner those who have sought the good of the country have been treated with injustice.

His first arrival—for what passed on the voyage is not for us to speak of—was like a peacock, with great state and pomp. The declaration of his Honor, that he wished to stay here only three years, with other haughty expressions, caused some to think that he would not be a father. The appellation of *Lord General*, and similar titles, were never before known here. Almost every day he caused proclamations of various import to be published, which were for the most part never observed, and have long since been a dead letter, except the wine excise, as that yielded a profit. The proceedings of the Eight Men, and those especially against Jochem Pietersz Cuyter and Cornelis Melyn, happened in the beginning of his administration. The director showed himself so one-sided in them, that he gave reason to many to judge of his character little to his advantage. Every one clearly saw that Director Kieft had more favor, aid, and counsel in his suite, than his adversary, and that the one director was the advocate of the other, as the language of Director Stuyvesant imported and signified, when he said, "These brutes may hereafter endeavor to knock me down also,

but I will manage it so now, that they will have their bellies full for the future." How it was managed, the result of the lawsuit can bear witness. They were compelled to pay fines, and were cruelly banished. In order that nothing should be wanting, Cornelis Melyn was threatened if he asked for mercy, that it would, after a while, be seen how his matters would turn out in the Fatherland, in language like this, as Melyn, who is still living, himself declares, "If I knew, Melyn, that you would divulge our sentence, or bring it before their High Mightinesses, I would cause you to be hung immediately on the highest tree in New Netherland." Now this took place in private, and may be denied,—and nothing ought to be taken as true but what is credible,—but this is so confirmed by similar cases, that it cannot be doubted. At one time, after leaving the house of the minister, where the consistory had been sitting and had risen, it happened that Arnoldus van Herdenbergh related the proceedings relative to the estate of Zeger Teunisz, and how he himself, as curator, had appealed from the sentence; whereupon the director, who had been sitting there with them as an elder, interrupted him, and replied, "It may, during my administration, be contemplated to appeal, but if any one should do it, I will *make him a foot shorter*, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way." Oh cruel words! what more could even a sovereign do? And yet this is all firmly established; for after Jochem Pieterz Cuyter and Cornelis Melyn went to the Fatherland to prosecute their appeal, and letters came back here from them, and the report was

that they were upheld in the appeal, or would be so upheld, the director declared openly, at various times, and on many occasions, as well before inhabitants as strangers, when speaking of Jochem Pietersz Cuyter and Cornelis Melyn, "If they come back and bring the order of the States, they would be as they were, unless their High Mightinesses summon me, in which case I will immediately send them back." His Honor has also always denied that any appeal was or could be taken in this country, and declared that he was able to show this conclusively. And as some were not willing to believe it, especially in matters against the company or their officers, a great deal was quoted and extracted from different authorities, but not much to the purpose. At the first, while Director Kieft was still here, the English minister,* as he had been long badly treated and his land was confiscated, prayed that he might be permitted to return to the Islands,† or to Netherland; but an unfavorable answer was always given him, and he was threatened with this and that; finally it resulted in permission to return, provided he gave a promise, under his hand, that he would not, in any place in which he should come, speak or complain of what had befallen him here in New Netherland from Director Kieft or Stuyvesant. This the man himself declares. Mr. Dincklagen and Commander Loper, who then had seats in the council, also say that this is true. It is a marvel how the directors can now justify to their own consciences what they wished to do with such certificates,

* Francis Doughty. † The West Indies.

and others like them, which were secretly obtained. The honorable director began also at the first to argue very stoutly against the contraband trade, as was indeed very laudable. The law was passed and remained in force, yet this trade, forbidden to others, he himself wished to carry on; but to this the people were not willing to consent. His Honor said, and openly asserted, that he was allowed, on behalf of the company, to sell powder, lead, and guns to the Indians, but no one else could do so, and that he wished to carry their resolution into execution. What the resolution of the company amounts to, is unknown to us,* but what relates to the act is notorious to every inhabitant; as the director has by his servants openly carried on the trade with the Indians, and has taken guns from free men who had brought with them one or two for their own use and amusement, paying for them according to his own pleasure, and selling them to the Indians. But this way of proceeding could amount to nothing, and made little progress. It was necessary to do something more, and therefore a merchant, Gerrit Vastrick, received orders to bring with him one case of guns, which is known of, for the purpose, as it was said, of supplying the Indians

* The company had written to Stuyvesant on the 7th of April, 1648, as follows:—"It is our opinion that the natives within our conquests should be governed with lenity—a conclusion formed from our wars with them, which we believe are the cause of their anxiety to provide themselves with powder and ball for use in hunting, which we consider nothing but an artful pretext. Yet, as they urge it with such earnestness, that they would rather renew the war with us than be without these articles, and as a war with them, in our present situation would be very unwelcome, we think the best policy is to furnish them with powder and ball, but with a sparing hand." (Albany Records, Vol. IV. p. 1, 2.)

sparingly. They set about with this case of guns so openly, that there was not a man on the Manathans but knew it; and it was work enough to quiet the people. Everybody made his own comment; and, as it was observed that the ship was not inspected as others had been before, it was presumed that there were many more guns, besides powder and lead, in it for the governor; but as the first did not succeed, silence was, therefore, observed in regard to the rest; and it might have passed unnoticed, had not everyone perceived that it opened a great door for abuse. The director so treating all others, then gave permission to a captain and merchant, who were celebrated for this of old, and who were now said to have brought with them a great number of guns, which was the more believed, because they went to the right place, and on their return (*Retoere**) were dumb as to what they did. This begat so much discontent among the common people, and even among the other officers, that it is not to be expressed; and had the people not been persuaded to hold back, something extraordinary would have happened. It was further declared, that the director is every thing, and does the business of the whole country, having several shops himself; that he is a brewer and has breweries, is a part owner of ships, a merchant and a trader, as well in lawful as contraband articles. But he does not mind what is said; he exhibits the

* This is not a Dutch word. It may be the French, *retour*, in which sense we have used it. Its presence renders the sense doubtful, and perhaps the translation of the passage is incorrect.

orders of the managers that he might do so, and says, moreover, that he should receive a supply of powder and lead by the Falconer for the purpose. In a word, the same person who interdicts the trade to others upon pain of death, carries it on both secretly and openly, contrary to good morals. His example is not to be followed, and if others do follow it,—which, indeed, often happens secretly,—then away with them to the gallows. This we have seen in the case of Jacob Reyntgen and Jacob van Schermerhoren, who, for this offense, were sentenced to die, and who were with much difficulty relieved from the sentence, and then they were banished as felons, and their goods confiscated. The banishment was, by the intervention of many good men, afterwards remitted, but their goods, many of which were free (as they were trading merchants), remained confiscated. We cannot pass by relating here what happened to one Joost Theunisz Backer, who complained to us of being greatly maltreated, as he in fact was. For the man being a reputable burgher, of good life and moderate means, was put in prison upon the declaration of an officer of the company, who, according to the general and council, had himself thrice well deserved the gallows, and for whom a new one even had been made, from which, out of mercy, he escaped. He was persecuted in every way, and finally, when nothing could be established against him having the semblance of crime, he was released again, after thirteen days confinement, upon satisfactory bail for his appearance, in case the fiscal should find any thing against him. Nothing has as yet been done

about it though the year and a day have passed by. We have, as advocates for this commoner, and upon his request respectfully solicited, as his bonds are heavy, that the suit should be tried, so that he might be punished according to his deserts if he were guilty, and if not, that he might be discharged. But there was nothing gained by our interposition, as we were answered with reproachful language, and the fiscal was permitted to rattle out any thing that came in his mouth, and the man was rendered odious beyond all precedent, and abused before all as a foul monster. Asked he any thing, even if it were all right, he received abusive language, his request was not complied with, and justice was denied him. These things produced great dissatisfaction, and led some to meditate leaving the country. It happened better with one Pieter Vander Linden, as he was not imprisoned. There are many others, but the most of them are afraid, yet would speak if they durst. Now the company itself carries on the forbidden trade, and the people think that as it can do so without criminality there is no harm in their doing it; and this causes smuggling and frauds to an incredible extent, though not so great this year as heretofore. The publishing of a placard that those who were involved, whether civilly or criminally, in New England, might have passport and protection here, has very much embittered the minds of the English, and has been considered by everyone fraught with bad consequences. Great distrust has also been created among the inhabitants on account of Heer Stuyvesant being so ready to confiscate. There

scarcely comes a ship in or near here, which, if it do not belong to friends, is not regarded as a prize by him. There will be great pretenses (though little comes of them) made concerning these matters, about which we will not dispute; but confiscating has reached such a pitch in New Netherland, that nobody who has any visible property considers it to be at all safe. It were well if the knowledge of this thing were confined to this country; but he has spread it himself among the neighboring English—North and South—and in the West Indies and Caribbee Islands. Everywhere there, such is the bad report, that not a ship dare come from those places; and good credible people who come from thence, by the way of Boston, and others of Boston trading here, assure us that more than twenty-five ships would come here from those islands every year if the owners were not fearful of confiscation. And this is the result only in these places. The same report flies to all others, and produces like fear in them, so that this vulture is destroying the prosperity of New Netherland, diverting its trade, and making the people discontented. Other places not so well situated as this, have more shipping. All the substantial inhabitants, the merchant, the burgher and peasant, the planter, the laboring man, and also the man of service, suffer great injury in consequence; for if the shipping were abundant, every thing could be better sold, and necessaries be more easily obtained than they are now, whether they be such as the people themselves, by God's blessing, get out of the earth, or those they otherwise procure, and be sold with more profit; and freedom in

trade would be given to the people. New England is a clear example that this policy succeeds well, and so especially is Virginia. All the debts and claims which were left uncollected by Director Kieft,—due for the most part from poor and indigent people who had nothing, and whose property was destroyed by the war, by which they were compelled to abandon their houses, lands, cattle, and other means,—were now demanded; and when the people declared that they were not able to pay—that they had lost their property by the war, and desired my Lord to have patience, they were repulsed. A resolution was adopted and put in execution, requiring those who did not satisfy the company's debts, to pay interest; but the debts in question were made in and by the war, and the people are not able to pay either principal or interest. Again, the just debts which Director Kieft left behind, due from the company, whether they consisted of monthly wages, or were for grain delivered, or were otherwise lawfully contracted, these the director will not pay. If we oppose this as an unusual course, it is admitted and he wishes to have it so. We have, by petition and proper remonstrance, effected, however, so much, that the collection of the debts is put off for a time.

Besides this, the country of the company is so taxed, and is burdened and kept down in such a manner, that the inhabitants are not able to appear beside their neighbors of Virginia or New England, or to undertake any enterprise. It seems,—and thus much is known by us,—that all the inhabitants of New Netherland admit that the managers have scarce any care

or regard for New Netherland, except when there is something to receive; for which reason, however, they receive less. The great extremity of war into which we have been thrown, clearly demonstrates that the managers care not whether New Netherland sink or swim; for when in that emergency, aid and assistance were sought from them,—which they, indeed, were bound by honor, and by promises half unsolicited, to grant, pursuant to the exemptions,—they made no attempt to furnish them at their own expense. We let the expense go; they have never established any good order or regulation concerning it, although the plenitude of their High Mightinesses had decreed and commanded it. Neither have they ever allowed the true causes and reasons of the war to be investigated, nor have they attempted to punish those who had rashly begun it. Hence no little suspicion attaches to their order concerning it; at least, it is certain that their officers were chosen more from favor and friendship than merit, which did not make their matters go on better. But this is the loss and damage, for the most part, of the stockholders. Many of the others, doubtless, knew well the object. In a word, they come far short in affording that protection which they owe the country, though the burdens are nothing lighter on that account. They understand how to impose taxes, for while they promised, in the exemptions, not to go above five per cent., they now take sixteen. It is obvious that there is a great difference,—a half-difference, but there is no relief. The evasions and objections which are used by them, as regards merchants' goods, smug-

gling, and many other things, and which the times have taught them, in order to give color to their acts, are of no force or consideration. They, however, are not now to be refuted, as it would take too long; though we stand ready to do so, if there be any necessity for it. These and innumerable other difficulties, which we have not time to express, exist, tending to the damage, injury, and ruin of the country. If the inhabitants, or we ourselves, go to the director or other officers of the company, and speak of the flourishing condition of our neighbors, and complain of our own desolate and ruinous state, we get for answer from them, that they see and observe it, but cannot remedy it, as they follow the company's orders, which they are compelled to do, and that if we have any thing to say, we must petition their masters, the managers, or their High Mightinesses, which, in truth, we have judged to be necessary. It is now more than a year since the commonalty deemed it expedient, and proposed, to send a deputation to their High Mightinesses. The director commended the project, and not only assented to it, but urged it strongly. *It was put well in the mill*, so that we had already spoken of a person to go, when it fell through, for these reasons: When it was proposed, the director desired that it should be communicated according to his wishes; which some who perceived the object, would not consent to, and the matter therefore fell asleep. Besides, the English, who had been depended upon and who were associated in the affair, withdrew from time to time from us. This made the necessity of action the greater, and the Nine Men were,

therefore, changed the next year, when Heer Stuyvesant again urged the matter strongly, and declared that he had already written to the company that such persons would come. After the election of the Nine Men, and before the new incumbents were sworn in, it was determined by them and resolved verbally, that they would proceed with the deputation, whatever should be the consequences; but it remained some time before the oath was renewed, on account of some amplification of the commission being necessary, which was finally given and the protocol arranged and signed; but we have never been able to obtain an authentic copy of it, although the director has frequently promised, and we have frequently applied for it.

As the company had now been waited upon a long while in vain, promising amendment from time to time, but going on worse, a determined resolution was taken by the commons-men to send some person. They made their intention known to the director, and requested that they might confer with the commonalty; but their proposition was not well received, and they obtained in reply to their written petition, a very long letter, to the effect, that communication must be made through the director, and his instructions followed, with many other things which did not agree with our object, and were impracticable, as we think, for various reasons which we have set down in writing. We thought it was not advisable to communicate through him, but we represented to his Honor that, should he let us go, we would not send any thing to the Fatherland, without his having a copy of it. He could then answer for

himself, as we would be glad he should; but to follow his directions in this matter was not, we thought, founded in reason, but was antagonistic to the welfare of the country. We had never promised or agreed to do so, but were bound by an oath to seek the prosperity of the country; as, according to our best knowledge, we are always inclined to do.

In the above-mentioned letter it says, if we read rightly, that we should inquire what approbation the commonalty were willing to give to this business, and how the expense should be defrayed; but the director explained it differently from what we understood it. Now as he was not willing to convene the people for our purpose, or that we should do it, we went round from house to house and spoke to the commonalty. The general has, from that time, burned with rage, and, if we can judge, has not been effectually appeased since, although we did not know what else to do, and followed his order herein. Nevertheless, it was contemplated that the Nine Men should not communicate with him or follow his directions in any thing pertaining to the matter. This excited in him a bitter and unconquerable hatred against them all, but principally against those whom he supposed to be the chief authors of it; and although these persons had been good and dear friends with him always, and he, shortly before, had regarded them as the most honorable, respectable, intelligent and patriotic men of the country, yet, as soon as they did not follow the general's wishes, they were this and that, some of them rascals, liars, rebels, usurers and spendthrifts, in a word, hanging was almost too

good for them. It had been previously strongly urged that the deputation should be expedited; but [he said] there was then still six months' time, and all that was proper and necessary could be put upon a sheet of paper. Many reports also were spread among the people, and it was sought, principally by means of the English, to prevent the college of the Nine Men from doing any thing; but as these intrigues were discovered, and it was, therefore, manifest that this could not be effected, so in order to make a diversion, many suits were brought against those who were considered the ringleaders. They were accused and then prosecuted by the fiscal and other suborned officers, who made them out to be the greatest villains in the country, where shortly before they had been known as the best people and dearest children. At this time an opportunity presented itself, which the director was as glad to have, as he himself said, as his own life. At the beginning of the year 1649, clearly perceiving that we would not only have much to do about the deputation but would hardly be able to accomplish it, we deemed it necessary to make regular memoranda for the purpose of furnishing a journal from them at the proper time. This duty was committed to one Adriaen vander Donck, who by a resolution adopted at the same time, was lodged in a chamber at the house of one Michael Jansz. The general, on a certain occasion when Vander Donck was out of the chamber, seized this rough draft with his own hands, put Vander Donck the day after in jail, called together the great council, accused him of having committed *crimen læsæ*

majestatis, and took up the matter so warmly, that there was scarcely any determining whether the deputation was to proceed (and it was yet to be arranged), or whether the journal—as Mine Heer styled the rough draft from which the journal was to be prepared—was of itself action enough; for Mine Heer said there were great calumnies in it against their High Mightinesses, and when we wished to explain it, and sought to correct the errors (as the writer did not wish to insist upon it, and said he knew well that there were mistakes in it, arising from haste, and other similar causes, in consequence of his having had much to do and not having read over again the most of it), our request was called a libel which was worthy of no answer, and the writer of which it was intended to punish as an example to others. In fine, we could not make it right in any way. He forbid Vander Donck the council, and also our meetings, and gave us formal notice to that effect, and yet would not release him from his oath. For the purpose of cutting off the convenient mode of proof, he issued a proclamation declaring that no testimony or other act should be valid unless it were written by the secretary; which was of service to nobody, but, on the contrary, everyone complained that nothing could be done. Director Kieft had done the same thing when he was apprehensive that an *Attestation* would be executed against him. And so it is their practice, generally, to do every thing they can think of in order to uphold their conduct. Those whose offices required them to concern themselves with the affairs of the country, and did so, did

well, if they went according to the general's will and pleasure; if they did not, they were prosecuted and thrown into prison, guarded by soldiers so they could not speak with anybody, angrily abused before everyone as monsters, threatened to be taught this and that, and every thing done against them that he could contrive or invent. We cannot enter into details, but refer to the record kept of these things, and the documents which the director himself will furnish. From the foregoing relation their High Mightinesses, and other friends who may see it, can well imagine what labor and burdens we have had upon our shoulders from which we would very willingly have escaped, but for love of the country and of truth, which, as far as we know, has long lain buried. The trouble and difficulty which do or will affect us, although wanting no addition, do not grieve us so much as the sorrowful condition of New Netherland, now lying at its last gasp; but we hope and trust that our afflictions and the sufferings of the inhabitants and people of the country, will awaken in their High Mightinesses a compassion which will be a cause of rejoicing to New Netherland.*

In what manner New Netherland should be redressed.

Although we are well assured and know, in regard to the mode of redress of the country, we are only children, and their High Mightinesses are entirely

* See Note E, *post.*

competent, we nevertheless pray that they overlook our presumption, and pardon us if we make some suggestions according to our humble understanding thereof, in addition to what we have considered necessary in our petition to their High Mightinesses.

In our opinion this country will never flourish under the government of the Honorable Company, but will pass away and come to an end of itself, unless the Honorable Company be reformed; and, therefore, it would be more profitable for them, and better for the country, that they should be rid thereof, and their effects transported hence.

To speak specifically. Care ought to be taken of the public property, as well ecclesiastical as civil, which, in beginnings, can be illy dispensed with. It is doubtful whether divine worship will not have to cease altogether, in consequence of the departure of the minister, and the inability of the company. There should be a public school, provided with at least two good masters, so that first of all in so wild a country, where there are many loose people, the youth be well taught and brought up, not only in reading and writing, but also in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. As it is now, the school is kept very irregularly, one and another keeping it according to his pleasure and as long as he thinks proper. There ought also to be an alms house, and an orphan asylum, and other similar institutions. The minister who now goes home,* can give

* This was the Rev. Johannes Backerus, who had previously been a minister at Curacoa. He succeeded the Rev. Everadus Bogardus as minister at New

a much fuller explanation thereof. The country must also be provided with godly, honorable, and intelligent rulers, who are not very indigent, or, indeed, are not too covetous. A covetous governor makes poor subjects. The manner the country is now governed falls severely upon it, and is intolerable, for nobody is unmolested or secure in his property longer than the director pleases, who is generally strongly inclined to confiscating; and if every thing be well done, and the property given to the Heer, one must still study always to please him if he would have quiet. A good population would be the consequence of a good government, as we have shown according to our ability in our petition; and although to give free passage and equip ships, if it be necessary, would be expensive at first,—yet, if the result be considered, it would ultimately be a wise measure, if by that means farmers and laborers, together with other poor people, were brought into the country, with the little property which they have; of whom the Fatherland has enough to spare. We believe it would then prosper, especially as good privileges and exemptions, which we regard as the mother of population, would encourage the inhabitants to carry on commerce and lawful trade. Everyone would be allured hither by the pleasantness, situation, salubrity, and fruitfulness of the country, if protection were secured within the already established boundaries. It would all, with God's assistance, then, according to human

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Amsterdam in 1647, and left for Holland in 1649, just before the departure of this deputation.

judgment, go well, and New Netherland would in a few years be a brave place and be able to do service to the Netherland nation, to repay richly the cost and to thank its benefactors.

High Mighty Lords! We have had the boldness to write this remonstrance, and to place matters before you as we have done from love of the truth, and because we felt ourselves obliged to do so by our oath and conscience. It is well that we have not seen, heard, and considered them all at once, but separately, in their whole tenor and in every particular. Nevertheless, there is nothing in it but what is well known by some of us to be true;—the most is known by all of us to be true. We hope their High Mightnesses will pardon our presumption and our plainness of style, composition, and method. In conclusion, we commit their High Mightinesses, their persons, deliberations, and measures at home and abroad, together with all the friends of New Netherland, to the merciful guidance and protection of the HIGHEST, whom we supplicate for their High Mightinesses' present and eternal welfare. Amen.

Actum defen.—28th of July, in New Netherland. And was subscribed,—"*Adriaen vander Donck*, *Augustijn Hermansz*, *Arnoldus van Hardenbergh*, *Jacob van Couwenhoven*, *Oloff Stevensz*," (by whose name was written, "under protest,—obliged to sign about the government of the Heer Kieft,") "*Michiel Jansz*, *Thomas Hall*, *Elbert Elbertsz*, *Govert Lokermans*, *Hendrick Hendricksz Kip*, and *Jan Everts-bout*." Below was written, "*According to the collation of the*

original remonstrance, dated and subscribed as above, with which these are found to correspond, at the Hague, the 13*th October*, 1649, *by me;*"—and was subscribed,

"D. V. SCHELLUYNEN,
Notary Public."

NOTE A. See page 32.

THE TITLE OF THE EARL OF STIRLING TO LONG ISLAND AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS.

ANDREW FORESTER, the agent of the dowager of Stirling, was a Scotchman from Dundee. He was arrested and examined before the director and council, on the 28th September, 1647, when the facts appeared as set forth in the text. The other Scotchman arrested in 1640 by Kieft, was James Farrett, who held a power of attorney from the Earl of Stirling in his life time, dated the 20th of April, 1637, authorizing him to dispose of Long Island and the adjacent islands between the degrees of forty and forty-one north latitude, or any part of them. A certified copy of this instrument is on file in the office of the town clerk of Southampton, on Long Island. Savage, in Winthrop (Vol. ii. p. 6), misled by Wood (who, however, corrects the error in the second edition of his "Sketch of Long Island"), confounds Forester with Farrett.

The history of the grant of Long Island to the Earl of Stirling, has been much obscured. It is not, as intimated by Hubbard, included in either of his patents for Nova Scotia; nor was it a grant direct from the crown, as stated by other writers. Those of Nova Scotia and the Canada grant, were issued by the crown, that of Long Island came from the Plymouth Company; though in truth they may all be considered as emanating from that company, through royal interference.

The adventurers of the Northern Colony of Virginia obtained from James I. a separate patent in 1620, for all that portion of the country within their limits, that is, between the degrees of 40 and 48, and formed a new company under the name of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England in America." The Earl of Stirling, then Sir William Alexander, and Master of Requests to the king for Scotland, becoming acquainted with Capt. John Mason, who had been in the country, was in consequence induced to apply to the king for a patent for Nova Scotia, which was granted him in 1621; but as this territory was within the limits of the grant to the council of New England, the prior assent of that corporation was necessary, and, upon the request of the king, was given (Gorges' Brief Narration, chap. 24). Sir William Alexander was a favorite of James I., probably on account of his being a fellow-countryman of courtly manners and poetical talents. The interposition of the king in his behalf, and the extraordinary privileges included in the grant, of creating titles of nobility for New Scotland, which were in fact conferred, show the extent of his influence with

that monarch,—an influence which, on the death of James, he retained with his successor.

The patentees of New England surrendered their charter in 1635, first passing grants to themselves in severalty, of such parts of the country "along the sea coast," as they deemed proper. They had, however, previously conveyed to private persons different portions of the country, and in April of that year made a deed to the Earl of Stirling, of Long Island and the adjacent islands. This deed has never been produced in public, though it is said to be in the State Paper Office in London. It is, however, described both in the petition of Henry, the third Earl of Stirling, made in 1661, to Charles II., praying that in any treaty made with the Dutch, the subjects of the latter government on Long Island might be required to submit to the English (London Documents at Albany, Vol. I.), and in the power of attorney of the first Earl of Stirling to Farrett, before referred to. In the latter document it is recited that the Earl of Stirling had, "by and with the *consent, direction, appointment, and command* of his most sacred Majesty, the King, obtained a patent or grant *from the corporation of New England,* under their common seal, bearing date the two-and-twentieth day of April, in the eleventh year of his said Majesty, Charles, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, or *anno Domini* 1636,* of a certain island called Long Island, with all and every the islands thereunto adjacent, lying, and being situate, or bounded between the degrees of forty and forty-one of the northerly latitude, or thereabouts." It is added in the petition of Henry, the grandson,—"with power of judicature, saving to that council the Oyer and Terminer of Appeals, to be held of that council *per gladium comitatus,* and yielding the fifth part of all ore of gold and silver." The existence of this grant is established beyond all question by the fact that it was, with its relinquishment to the Duke of York, recognized in the patent of Governor Nicholl to Constant and Nathaniel Sylvester for Shelter Island, May 31, 1666. (Wood's *Long Island,* p. 6, *note.*) The release to the Duke of York is also mentioned, though upon what authority it is not stated, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. III. 2d Series, p. 85. Major General William Alexander of our Revolution, generally known as Lord Stirling, in a letter to one of his agents at the time of his claiming the earldom and American estates of Stirling, says, that Henry, the third earl, conveyed this title, about the year 1662, to the Duke of York, for an annuity of three hundred pounds, which was never paid. (See his Life, by Mr. Duer, p. 37.) As the Duke of York's patent included Long Island, this release perfected the title of the crown of England to it in him, subject of course to the prior grants made by the Earl of Stirling, which are the foundation of many of the titles to real estate now held on the east end of Long Island, on Shelter Island, and Nantucket.

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* This is obviously a clerical error. The eleventh year of Charles I. was 1635, and as it was in June of that year that the patent was surrendered by the Council of New England, their deed to the Earl of Stirling must have been before that event.

NOTE B. See page 38.

THE CLAIM OF EDMUND PLOWDEN TO LONG ISLAND AND NEW JERSEY.

THE claim of Edmund Plowden to Long Island and the country south of it, to Cape May, forms a curious chapter in our early history. Most writers have been disposed to treat it as a valid one; while others have gone into the opposite extreme, and both ridiculed the claim and utterly denied its existence, giving it no other consideration than as an Eutopian fabrication. The truth appears to be that one Edmund Plowden did obtain a grant, through the deputy general of Ireland, purporting to be from the king, which was enrolled in Ireland, and with which he visited this country. On his return to England, he caused a pamphlet to be published with the title of "A Description of the Province of New Albion," &c.,* containing a letter alleged to have been written by one Robert Evelyn, who had lived there many years. Were there no other evidence to prove the actual assertion of Plowden's claim than this *brochure,* both might justly be denied, for it appears to have been written by someone who had little or no personal knowledge of the country, with a free use of such materials as could be derived from Purchas, the semi-romantic histories of Captain John Smith, and the publication of Lord Baltimore in relation to Maryland, whose grant, most likely, gave rise to the speculation on the part of Plowden. The publication of this tract was first made in 1648. That the description which it contains of the country was not more correct, arose from the fact that, being in possession of the Dutch, it was almost *terra incognita* to the English, and Plowden's own knowledge of it was limited to New Amsterdam, the sea-coast, and perhaps the river Delaware. But there is abundant proof both of his title, such as he represented it to be, and of his actual presence in this country, asserting his claim, before the appearance of the "Description of the Province of New Albion."†

His two visits to New Netherland, prosecuting his title, are distinctly asserted in the text; one in the time of Kieft, and the other in that of Stuyvesant. It is stated by Winthrop, *sub anno* 1648, that he arrived in Boston in that year, from Virginia, where he had been almost seven years, which agrees with the period stated, in the *Description of New Albion,* for his residence in the country. It was during this term that his visits were made to New Netherland, the last of which was on his way to Boston from Virginia, on his return to England. The work

* Reprinted in Force's Collection of American Tracts.

† This work purports to have been written by Beauchamp Plantagenet, who was doubtless fictitious personage. If not written by Plowden, it was prepared under his direction. In the second chapter, there is a reference to the Indian war during Kieft's administration, to the increase of the English population at Manhattan, and the furnishing ammunition to the Indians by Stuyvesant,—facts within Plowden's knowledge, or someone who had been here.

appears to have been published immediately on his reaching England. But the most interesting piece of contemporaneous evidence in regard to this claim is to be found in the Journal of Augustine Heeremans (one of the Nine Men), who, with Resolve Waldron, was sent as a commissioner, by Stuyvesant, to the governor of Maryland, in reference to the disputes about the boundaries between their two colonies, in the year 1659. Heeremans states that in their interview with Governor Fendall of Maryland, the latter claimed that the patent of Lord Baltimore extended north to the patent of New England, and then says: "Upon which we asked, where then would New Netherland be, if their limits were to join those of New England? To this he answered, he did not know. We then said we knew for both; that it was a mistake, and that New Netherland was in possession of these limits several years before my Lord Baltimore obtained his patent, and that we actually settled these parts. We brought forward also, among other facts, *how Edm. Plowden in former days laid claim to Delaware Bay*, and we declared that the one pretension had no better support than the other. To which he replied that Plowden had not obtained a commission, and was thrown in jail in England for his debts. *He acknowledged, however, that Plowden solicited from the king a patent of Novum Albion, which was refused, whereupon he addressed himself to the Viceroy of Ireland, from whom he obtained a patent*, but it was of no value at all." (Albany Records, Vol. 18, p. 349.) With this contemporaneous testimony, we may appreciate the evidence,—the charter itself,—which has been produced by Charles Varlo, who visited this country in 1784 for the purpose of establishing the claim, of one third of which he had become the owner. Varlo having procured a copy of the charter from the Chancery rolls in Dublin, caused it to be translated from the Latin, in which it was written, and to be published and distributed, with copies of a lease and release, and also an address, among the inhabitants of this country. One of these publications we have now before us, with a proclamation in form of a handbill, addressed to the people of New Albion, in the name of the Earl of Albion. The charter, lease, and release were republished by Mr. Hazard, in the first volume of his Collections. The address to the public may be found in Mr. Pennington's Examination of the pamphlet before mentioned, in the fourth volume of the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The proclamation has not been republished. The only copy which we know of, is the one for the use of which we are indebted to the kindness of Hon. Peter Force of Washington.

This charter is from the Deputy General of Ireland, and is dated the 21st of June, in the tenth year of Charles I. (1634); and grants to Edmund Plowden, Knight, and to John Lawrence, Knight and Baronet, Bowyer Worsley, Knight, Charles Barrett and John Trusler, Roger Packe, William Inwood, Thomas Ribread, and George Noble, certain lands and premises to be erected into a province, and called New Albion, consisting of Long Island or Isle of Plowden, and of a part of the main land forming a square of one hundred and twenty miles on each side, beginning at Cape May, thence along the river Delaware forty leagues, thence on a line at right angles north forty leagues, thence in a line at

right angles east forty leagues, including *Sandheey* [Sandy Hook], and from thence south on the line of the square to Cape May; and also grants to Plowden the title of Earl Palatine thereof. By the release, also dated in 1634, the four patentees last above named convey their interests to the children of Edmund Plowden, and declare that the interest of Worsley and Barrett, had, in consequence of their death, passed to the surviving patentees. This charter was void, as made without authority, for whatsoever patents of lands in this country may have been lawfully issued by the royal colonial governors, no such grants were ever authorized to be made by any delegated power at home; much less were political charters with provincial grants permitted to be given by subordinate authorities, either here or there. It was accordingly treated as a nullity by the English as well as by the Dutch.

The occasion of the publication by Varlo was the purchase by him, before the Revolutionary war, from some person in England, of one third of this alleged proprietary right. He came to this country in 1784, for the purpose of prosecuting the claim, and after his return to England published an account of his travels in America, with some facts connected with this claim, in a book which he called "Floating Ideas of Nature." (2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1796.)

Was there any settlement attempted by Plowden, and if so, where? In the work of Varlo just alluded to, he states that Edward, the second* son of Sir Edmund Plowden, came to the palatinate, with his lady and two sons, for the purpose of enjoying the property; but that they had not been long here when they were attacked by the Indians, and Edward and his lady murdered, the two children escaping. Whence he obtained this information does not appear precisely, though probably from Edmund Plowden, Esq., of Maryland, whom he visited during his tour in this country, or from the Plowden family in Ireland.

We have ascertained some facts, which may well be taken into view in connection with the point we are now considering. It appears from the records at Annapolis, that one *Edward* Plowden took up a tract of land in St. Mary's county, Maryland, called "Plowden's discovery," on the 29th of March, 1742; and on the eighth of August following, two other tracts, making in all 666 acres, which have ever since remained in the possession of his descendants, and are now called Bushwood. *Edmund* Plowden, one of these descendants, was, in 1777, appointed a captain of militia in the upper battalion of St. Mary's county, and in the years 1783 and 1784, represented that county in the Legislature of Maryland. He is the member of the family visited by Varlo, who erroneously gives his name *Edward*. The correct name, *Edmund*, which was the name of the patentee of New Albion, is a circumstance not to be disregarded in the present inquiry. Edmund J. Plowden, Esq., of Bushwood, the grandson of this Ed-

* The names of Edmund Plowden's children are given in the *Description of New Albion*, as follows; Francis (the eldest), *Thomas*, Winefrid, Barbara, and Katharine. The name of Edward does not appear.

mund, informs us (in 1849), that, by tradition, he is descended from one of the sons of the Edward murdered by the Indians, whose names were Thomas and George, but at what time or at what particular place the murder happened is unknown. He states that Varlo called upon his grandfather with a view of obtaining his aid in prosecuting the claim, which his grandfather declined, in consequence of his advanced age and the difficulties which obviously presented themselves; and that there was a correspondence on the subject between his grandfather and Francis Plowden, the author of a well-known history of Ireland. He further says, "My father dying when I was but a boy, many papers were either mislaid or destroyed, among them this very grant to Sir Edward,* which, when a boy, I have often seen, as also a book tracing the descent of our family at least from Sir Edward, down to my grandfather." The Sir Edward here referred to is the one called by Varlo the second son of Sir Edmund Plowden, the original claimant; and the title prefixed to the names, which appears to have had no other foundation than the charter of New Albion, has been transmitted in the family to later members of it. He has also shown us a conveyance on parchment, with internal evidence of its antiquity, of *Resurrection Manor* in Maryland, made by Richard Perry to *Thomas and George Plowden*, dated 10th May, 1684, which proves them to have been in this country at a time consistently with the tradition.

If any settlement were attempted, it must have been by one of the Plowdens, probably a grandson if not a son of the original claimant. There is no mention in the Dutch records of any such attempt during the time the country was under the control of the West India Company. From the great minuteness with which every aggression of the English, and every other event connected with the possessions of the company, are stated in those records, it could not well have happened without some mention of it in them. There were three projects by the English to obtain a foothold on the Delaware, during the Dutch dynasty, which are stated;—one by George Holmes in 1635, with a party of a dozen men, and is referred to in the Brief Statement of Van Tienhoven, in connection with the name of Thomas Hall, who was one of the party; the second in 1641, by Mr. Lambertson, of New Haven; and the third in 1659, by Lord Baltimore, which was the occasion of the embassy of Heermans and Waldron before referred to.

It appears to admit of little doubt that one of the Plowdens came over here after the return of Edmund, the original grantee, to enjoy the property; but, for the reasons given in regard to any settlement by the latter, it could not have been before the year 1664, when the Dutch power ceased in New Netherland. It is quite likely, that the conquest by the English revived the fallacious hopes of the Plowden family, and that they despatched one of their number, in after years, to this country. But where he attempted his settlement is unknown, as are also

* This may have been either a conveyance from the family, or the release from the patentees, before *mentioned.*

the circumstances of his tragic fate. If attempted anywhere within the limits of New Albion, it must have been in New Jersey. The annals of Long Island have been so fully preserved, as to render the absence of all allusion in them to the matter conclusive against the supposition of its having been tried there.

We cannot dismiss the subject of New Albion, without adverting to a statement contained in the work of Plantagenet, as the original source from which the historians of New York, with hardly an exception, have derived and transmitted an error connected with the conflicting claims of the Dutch and English to New Netherland. It is the alleged landing of Sir Samuel Argall on Manhattan island, in 1613, on his return voyage to Virginia from his expedition against the French at Acadia. This is a pure fiction, unsustained by any good authority,—though some writers have heaped up citations on the subject,—and as fully susceptible of disproof as any statement of that character at that early period can be.

NOTE C. See page 42.

THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

The historians of New Sweden have been in doubt as to the precise time of the arrival of the Swedes. Mr. Clay says, that Minuit brought over the first colonies about the year 1636. Mr. Ferris considers the time of his arrival uncertain, though he supposes from circumstances that it was early in the spring of 1638. Acrelius, who had the information before him, is not explicit; and Thomas Campanius is both ambiguous and wrong, as are all those who have relied upon him.

The year is distinctly given in the text. It is said to be 1638, and "eleven years ago," that is, before 1649, when the *Vertoogh* was written. But we have it in our power not only to corroborate this statement, but to fix the month, by evidence of a different character. Among the London Documents procured by the historical agent of New York, is a letter from the Treasurer of Virginia, Jerome Hawley, to Mr. Secretary Windebanke, dated "Jamestown, in Virginia, 8th May, 1638," in which the following passage occurs: "Since which tyme (20th March last), heare arrived a Dutch shipp with commission from the yong Queene of Sweaden, and signed by eight of the chiefe Lordes of Sweaden, the coppe whereof I would have taken to send to yo'r Hon'r, but the Captayne would not permit me to take any coppe thereof, except he might have free trade for to-

bacco to carry to Sweden, which being contrary to his Maj'ts instructions the Govern'r excused himself thereof. The shipp remained heare about 10 days to refresh with wood and water, during which tyme, the M'r of said shipp made knowne that both himselfe and another shipp of his company, were bound for Delaware Baye, which is the confines of Virginia and New England, and they p'tend to make a plantation and to plant tobacco, which the Dutch do allso already in Hudson's river, which is the very next river Northard from Delaware Baye. All which being his Mat's terretorys, &c." (London Doc. Vol. I.) The two ships, which were the *Key of Calmar* and the *Griffin*, must have been in Virginia at or after the 1st of April, supposing them to have arrived the very day after the 20th of March, referred to in this letter, as they staid there ten days to wood and water, which would have consumed all the month of March at least. At all events, it is certain they could not have arrived in the Delaware, to sail to which would have taken another day, before the 1st of April. The probabilities are that they did not arrive in Virginia on the day after the 20th of March, because if they had done so, it would probably have been so stated in the letter; and consequently they did not reach the Delaware until some days after the 1st of April.

The point then remains, how late a day could this have been? Hawley's letter was written on the 10th of May, before which time they hadl eft Virginia; and, allowing that they left on the previous day, which is the latest one consistently with his letter, and that it took even two or three days to get to the Delaware, we have the latest period, the 11th or 12th of May as the time of their arrival. That it was not, however, so late as this, may be gathered from another record in connection with the text; the protest of Director Kieft at New Amsterdam on the occasion, complaining of the Swedes for having begun "to build a fort between our forts," that is between the Hoerekil and fort Nassau. The date of the protest is variously given by different writers, Acrelius, and Smith, the historian of New York, stating it to be the 6th of May, and others the 17th of that month. The record at Albany, from whence it has been taken by all of them, *has no date;* but it occurs in a book in which the date of the record before it is the 6th, and of that which follows is the 17th of May. Hence the discrepancy. Supposing it, however, to have been issued on the 17th, how much time had elapsed at that day after the Swedes reached the Delaware? Now, it is stated in the *Vertoogh* that the Swedes did not begin their fort at their first arrival, and that it was not until the third visit of the Dutch to them that any attempt of that kind was discovered. They busied themselves at first in obtaining wood and water for their ships, which returned home in June, leaving some colonists behind; and then in planting a kitchen garden. This must have taken some time; and it was not until after this that the fort was commenced, and information of that fact sent to Kieft at New Amsterdam, a long, and at that time tedious journey from Fort Nassau (Gloucester Point in New Jersey—some miles below Philadelphia); for, as before observed, he distinctly protests against the building of the fort. Hence the conclusion is irresistible, that the

first entry in the Delaware by the Key of Calmar and the Griffin, must have been before the 1st of May. We will not attempt to fix the precise day, for that is impossible; but that the month was April, seems to admit of no question.

The statement of Campanius, which makes the first coming of the Swedes under different auspices and in an earlier year, 1631, in pursuance of an edict of Gustavus, confirmed by the Diet in 1627 upon the representation of Usselinx, is not founded upon any evidence which has ever been produced in this country or in Sweden, nor is it corroborated by a single other writer. Mr. Arfwedson errs when he quotes Biörck, as an authority that the first emigration to the colony was made in 1627, and that the building of Fort Christina took place in 1631. (*Arfwed. de colonia Nova Svecia deducta historiola*, p. 10.) The language of Biörck is this: "As to what concerns the first arrival of the Swedes in America we may observe, according to Th. Campanius Holm, p. 57, that the first expedition thither was made in the year 1627, during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, which was followed by others in the time of Queen Christina. The originator of the first expedition was William Usselinx, a Batavian, &c." (*Dissert. de plant.* p. 5.) All this statement, it will be seen, is declared to be made on the authority of Campanius, and not on that of Biörck himself. We are, therefore, thrown back upon Campanius, who had never been in this country. His description of New Sweden was derived from the notes of his grandfather, the Rev. John Campanius, who came over with Governor Printz, and was in the country six years. So far as the grandson confines himself to the matters known by his ancestor, he may be depended upon; but when he goes beyond them, he is constantly floundering in error. Biörck quotes, in the same paragraph in which the above passage occurs, from a much more reliable source in relation to this very point, and in contradiction of Campanius,—from Rev. Andrew Sandel, who was minister of the church at Wicaco (now a part of Philadelphia) from 1702 to 1719. Biörck, speaking of the expedition of John Printz to the Delaware in 1642, says, "But as we learn from the observations of Mr. Sandel, colonists probably not less numerous, were previously [that is, before Printz' arrival] sent over to these parts of America, under a very prudent man, Meneve [Minuit], a Belgian. It is said that he was the first governor of the Hollanders who inhabit the territory of New Jersey; but, as a quarrel took place between him and them, he was compelled to return home, where he was arraigned and deprived of his office. For this reason he left his country and went to Sweden, where upon a representation to the chief men of the great fertility and excellence of the country, he at length obtained permission to conduct thither a new colony. Upon his death, Peter Hollender succeeded to his place, who is considered to have been the first governor there." No allusion is made by Sandel to the alleged colony during the reign of Gustavus, which he would certainly have done if it had ever existed. He uses the term "new colony," evidently in contradistinction to the Dutch colony of which Minuit had been the governor, for he speaks of no other.

NOTE D. See page 59.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE FIRST DUTCH CHURCH.

The site of the first church built in New Netherland was in front of what is now called the Bowling Green, being the same spot on which Fort Amsterdam, which received successively the names of the reigning monarchs of Great Britain, after its conquest from the Dutch until the Revolution, was erected, as stated in this work. The fort called Fort George, was, by authority of law, razed to the ground in 1790, for the purpose of locating the Government House, which subsequently stood there. On removing the rubbish of the fort, the inscription on the old church was found. The following paragraph, recording the fact, may be found in the New York Magazine for 1790.

"June 23. On Monday last, in digging away the foundation of the fort in this city, a square stone was found among the ruins of a chapel (which formerly stood in the fort) with the following Dutch inscription on it:

Ao. Do. MDCXLII. W.
Kieft Dr. Gr. Heeft de
Gemeenten Dese Tem
pel doen Bouwen.

(*Translation.*)

"In the year of our Lord 1642, William Kieft, Director General, caused the congregation to build this church."

The stone was removed to the belfry of the Garden Street Church, which was destroyed by the great fire of 1835, and with which was lost this interesting memorial of the first church in New Netherland.

NOTE E. See page 96.

VAN TIENHOVEN'S ANSWER TO THE VERTOOGH.

Justice demands that we should give the answer of Stuyvesant, by his secretary, to the charges of the complainants. Van Tienhoven, with all his faults, was a man of ability, and he presented his points with force and succinctness. He entered upon no defense of himself—whether from prudence, in order to avoid a personal issue in an affair of such great interest to his employers, or from a consciousness of their truth, is uncertain. Probably both considerations operated upon him. He was shrewd enough to display no feeling; while it appears to be well established that his habits were loose and profligate, though he con-

tinued, notwithstanding, to retain the confidence of Stuyvesant for a long time, and even after he had lost that of the company, as he was dismissed by him from the service of the company only upon its repeated peremptory order (Alby. Records, Vol. IV. 14, 207, and 217) which took place in 1656. In his reply, Van Tienhoven retaliated upon the signers of the remonstrance by a description of them, individually, intended to be not very flattering to them, with which he closes his *cort bericht,* or brief statement. This reply, with the remonstrance, afford us a good insight into the earlier management of the West India Company in New Netherland. The answer was never printed, and was found among the royal archives at the Hague, by Mr. Brodhead, whence it was transcribed into the Holland documents of our State, and from them it is now translated as follows:

"*A brief statement or answer to some points embraced in the written deduction of Adrian van der Donk and his associates, presented to the High and Mighty Lords States General. Prepared by* CORNELIS VAN TIENHOVEN, *Secretary of the Director and Council of New Netherland.*

"In order to present the aforesaid answer succinctly, he, Van Tienhoven, will allege not only that it illy becomes the aforesaid Van der Donk and other private persons to assail and abuse the administration of the managers in this country, and that of their governors there,* in such harsh and general terms, but that they would much better discharge their duty if they were first to bring to the notice of their lords and patrons what they had to complain of. But passing by this point, and leaving the consideration thereof to the discretion of your High Mightinesses, he observes preliminarily and generally, that these persons say much and prove little, so that it could as easily, and with more truth, be denied, than by them it is affirmed.

"Coming then to the matter, I will only touch upon those points as to which either the Bewinthebbers or the directors are arraigned. In regard to point No. 1, it is denied, and it never will appear that the company have refused to permit people to make settlements in the country, and allowed foreigners to take up the land.

"The policy of the company was to act on the defensive. As they had not the power to resist their pretended friends, and could only protect their rights by protest, this was better and more prudent than to come to hostilities.

"Trade has long been free to everyone, and as profitable as ever. Nobody's goods were confiscated, except those who had violated their contract, or the order by which they were forbidden; and if anybody thinks that injustice has been done him by confiscation, he can speak for himself. At all events, it does not concern these people.

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* In New Netherland. AnanT iehoven prepared this answer in Holland.

"They complain that the Christians are treated like the Indians in the sale of goods, which is admitted; but that has not been by the company, nor by the directors, because (God help them) they have not had any thing there to sell for many years. Most of the remonstrants are merchants or factors, and are themselves the persons who, for those articles which cost here one hundred guilders, charge there, over and above the first cost, including insurance, duties, laborer's wages, freight, &c., one and two hundred per cent. or more profit. Here can be seen at once how these people lay to the charge of managers and their officers the very fault which they themselves commit. They can never show, even at the time the company had their shop and magazines there, that the goods were sold at more than fifty per cent. profit, in conformity with the exemptions. The forestalling of the goods by one and another, and the demanding this profit, was not prevented by the director, as the trade was thrown open to both those of small and those of large means.

"It is a pure calumny, that the company had ordered half a fault to be reckoned for a whole one.

"And, as it does not concern the inhabitants what instructions or orders the patroons give to the director, the charge is made for the purpose of bringing about, that these people may live without being subject to the censure or discipline of any one, which, however, they stand doubly in need of.

"Again it is said in general terms, but wherein should be specified and proven, that the director exercises, and has usurped, sovereign power.

"That the inhabitants have had need of the directors, appears by the books of accounts, in which it can be seen that the company has assisted all the freemen (some few excepted), with clothing, provisions, and other things, and in the erection of houses, and at a rate from fifty to one hundred per cent. advance above the first cost in the Fatherland, and these amounts are not yet paid by the complainants. It would be very agreeable, no doubt, to deprive the company of the country, and thus get rid of paying them.

"It is ridiculous to suppose Director Kieft should have said that he was sovereign, like the Prince in the Fatherland; but as relates to the denial of appeal to the Fatherland, it arose from this, that, in the exemptions, the Island of the Manhatans was reserved as the capital of New Netherlands, and all the adjacent colonies were to have their appeal to it as the Supreme Court of that region.

"Besides, it is to be remarked, that the patroon of the colony of Renselaerswyck notified all the inhabitants not to appeal to the Manhatans, which was contrary to the exemptions, by which the colonies are bound to make a yearly report of the state of the colony, and of the administration of justice, to the director and council on the Manhatans.

"The directors have never had any management of, or meddled with, church property. And it is not known, nor can it be proven, that any one of the inhabitants of New Netherlands has contributed or given, either voluntarily or upon solicitation, any thing for the erection of an orphan asylum, or an alms house. It is true the church was built in the fort in the time of William Kieft, and 1,800

guilders were subscribed for the purpose, for which most of the subscribers have been charged in their accounts, which have not yet been paid. The company, in the mean time, has disbursed the money, so that the commonalty has not, but the company has, paid the workmen. If the commonalty desire the aforesaid works, they must contribute towards them, as is done in this country; and, if there be an orphan asylum and alms house, the rents should be able not only to keep up the house, but also to maintain the orphans and old people.

"If any one could show that by will, or by donation of a living person, any money, or movable or immovable property, has been bestowed for such or any other public work, the remonstrants would have done it; but there is in New Netherland no instance of the kind, and the charge is spoken or written in anger. When the church, which is in the fort, was to be built, the church wardens were content it should be put there. These persons complain because they considered the company's fort not worthy of a church. When the church was built, could the grist mill not grind with a southeast wind if the (other) wind was shut off by the walls of the fort?

"Although the new school, towards which the commonalty has contributed something, is not yet built, and the director has no management of the money, but the church-wardens have, yet the director is busy in providing materials. In the mean time a place has been selected for a school, where the school is kept by Jan Cornelissen. The other schoolmasters keep school in hired houses, so that the youth, considering the circumstances of the country, are not in want of schools. It is true there is no Latin school or academy, but if any of the commonalty desire it, they can furnish the means and attempt it.

"As to what concerns the deacon's, or poor fund, the deacons are accountable, and are the persons to be inquired of as to where the money is invested, which they have from time to time put out at interest; and as the director has never had the management of it (as against common usage), the deacons are responsible for it, and not the director. It is true Director Kieft, being distressed for money, had a box hung in his house, of which the deacons had the key, and in which all the small fines and penalties which were incurred on court-days were dropped. With the consent of the deacons he opened it, and took on interest the money, which amounted to a pretty sum.

"It is admitted that the beer excise of William Kieft, and the wine excise of Peter Stuyvesant, were imposed and continued to be collected up to the time of my leaving there; but it is to be observed here, that the memorialists have no reason to complain about it, for the merchant, burgher, farmer, and all others (tapsters only excepted), can lay in as much beer and wine as they please, without paying any excise; being only bound to give an account of it, in order that the quantity may be ascertained. The tapsters pay three guilders for each tun of beer, and one styver for each can of wine, which they get back again from their daily visitors, and the travelers from New England, Virginia, and elsewhere.

"The commonalty, up to that time, were burdened with no other internal

taxes than the before-mentioned excise, unless the voluntary gifts which were two years since made for the erection of the church, be considered a tax, of which Jacob Couwenhoven,* who is one of the church-wardens, will be able to give an account.

"In New England there are no taxes or duties imposed upon goods exported or imported; but every person is there assessed by the government, according to his means, and so is compelled by the magistrates to pay for the building and repairing of churches and the support of the ministers; for the building of schoolhouses and the support of schoolmasters; for all city and village improvements, and the making and keeping in repair all public roads and paths, which are there made many miles into the country, so that they can be used by horses and carriages, and journeys made from one place to another; for constructing and keeping up all bridges over rivers, for the accommodation of passengers; for the building of hotels for travelers, and for the maintenance of governors, magistrates, marshals, and officers of justice, and of majors, captains, and other officers of the militia.

"In every province of New England, there is quarterly a general assembly of all the magistrates of such province; and there is yearly a general convention of all the provinces, each of which sends one deputy, with his suite, which convention lasts a long time. All their traveling expenses, board, and compensation, are there raised from the people.

"The accounts will show what was the amount of recognitions collected annually in Kieft's time; but it will not appear that it was as large by far as they say the people were compelled to pay. This is not the company's fault nor the directors', but of those who charge one, two, and three hundred per cent. profit, which the people are compelled to pay because there are few tradesmen.

"It will never appear that 30,000 guilders are collected from the commonalty in Stuyvesant's time; for nothing is received besides the beer and wine excise, which amounts to about 4,000 guilders on the Manhatans. From the other villages situated around it, there is little or nothing collected, because there are no tapsters, except one at the Ferry,† and one at Flushing.

"There is nothing confiscated belonging to the commonalty, and only contraband goods of foreigners; and of these, nobody's goods are confiscated without good cause.

"The question is, whether the Honorable Company or the directors are bound to construct any works for the commonalty out of the recognitions which the trader pays in New Netherland for goods exported, especially as those duties were allowed to the company by their High Mightinesses for the establishment

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* One of the three delegates from the commonalty, then in Holland.

† This was in Brooklyn. The village of Breukelen was a mile distant from the river; and the hamlet at the river was called *The Ferry.*

of garrisons, and the expenses which they would thereby incur, and not for the construction of hospitals, orphan asylums, or churches and school-houses.

"The charge that the property of the company is neglected in order to make friends, cannot be sustained by proof.

"The provisions in exchange for the negroes who came from Tamandare were sent to Curaçoa, except a portion consumed on the Manhatans, as the accounts will show; but all these are matters which do not concern these persons, especially as they are not accountable for them.

"As to what relates to the contract of the free persons, the director has graciously granted the negroes who were the company's slaves, to give them their freedom, in consequence of their long service, on condition that their children should remain slaves, who are not treated otherwise than as Christians. At present there are only three of these children who do any service, one of them is at the House of Hope,* one at the company's bouwery, and one with Martin Crigier, who has brought the girl up well, as everybody knows.

"That the Heer Stuyvesant should build up, alter, and repair the company's property, was his duty. For the consequent loss or profit, he will answer to the company.

"The burghers upon the island of Manhatans, and thereabouts, must know that nobody comes or is admitted to New Netherland (being a conquest), except upon this condition, that he shall have nothing to say, and shall acknowledge himself under the sovereignty of their High Mightinesses, the States General, and the Lords Bewinthebbers, as their lords and patrons, and should be obedient to the director and council for the time being, as good subjects are bound to be.

"Those who have complained about the haughtiness of Stuyvesant, I think are such as seek to live without law or rule.

"Their complaint that no regulation was made in relation to sewan, is untrue. During the time of Director Kieft, good sewan passed at four for a stiver, and the loose bits were fixed at six pieces for a stiver. The reason why the loose sewan was not prohibited, was because there was no coin in circulation, and the laborers, boors, and other common people having no other money, would be great losers; and had it been done, the remonstrants would, without doubt, have included it among their grievances.†

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* On the Connecticut river.

† Sewan long continued to be a part of the currency among the whites as well as the Indians, and was even paid in the Sunday collections in the churches. It was made, for the most part, of the shell of the hard clam; that made out of the blue part, or heart, of the shell having the highest value. It was in shape and size like common beads, and was perforated longitudinally, so as to be strung. Kieft's regulation, referred to by Van Tienhoven, which was adopted on 16th April, 1641, declared that the rough or loose sewan, worth six for a stiver, came from other places; and it was the Manhatan sewan which he fixed at four for a stiver, and which was consequently the best.

"Nobody can prove that Director Stuyvesant had used foul language to, or railed at as clowns, any persons of respectability who had treated him decently. It may be that some profligate has given the director, if he has used any bad words to him, cause to do so.

"That the fort is not properly repaired, does not concern the inhabitants. It is not their domain, but the company's. They are willing to be protected by good forts and garrisons belonging to the company, without furnishing any aid or assistance, by labor or money, for the purpose; but it appears they are not willing to see a fort well fortified and properly garrisoned, from the apprehension that malevolent and seditious persons will be better punished, which they call cruelty.

"Had the director not been compelled to provide the garrisons of New Netherland and Curaçoa with provisions, clothing, and pay, the fort would, doubtless, have been completed.

"Against whom has Director Stuyvesant personally made a question without reason or cause?

"A present of maize, or Indian corn, they call a contribution; but a present is never received from the Indians without its being doubly paid for; as these people, being very covetous, throw out a herring for a codfish, as everybody who knows the Indians can bear witness.

"Francis Doughty, father-in-law of Adrian van der Donk, and an English minister, was allowed a colony at Mestpacht, not for himself alone, as patroon, but for him and his associates, dwelling in Rhode Island, at Cohanock and other places, from whom he had a power of attorney, and of whom a Mr. Smith was one of the principal; for the said minister had scarcely any means of himself to build even a hovel, let alone to people a colony at his own expense; but was to be employed as minister by his associates, who were to establish him on a farm in the said colony, for which he would discharge ministerial duties among them, and live upon the profits of the farm.

"Coming to the Manhatans to live during the war, he was permitted by the English dwelling about there to officiate for them as minister; and they were bound to maintain him, without either the director or the company being liable to any charge therefor. The English not giving him wherewith to live on, two collections were made among the Dutch and English, by means of which he lived at the Manhatans.

"The said colony of Mespacht was never confiscated, as is shown by the owners still living there, who were interested in the colony with Doughty; but as Doughty wished to hinder population, and to permit no one to build in the colony unless he were willing to pay a certain amount of money down for every morgen of land, and a certain yearly sum in addition in the nature of ground-rent, and also sought to have a property therein distinct from the others interested in the colony, the director and council (Mr. Smith especially having complained), determined that the associates might enter upon their property,—the farm and lands which Doughty possessed being reserved to him; so that he has

suffered no loss or damage thereby. This I could prove, were it not that the documents are in New Netherland, and not here.

"There are no clauses inserted in the ground-briefs, contrary to the exemptions, but the words *nog te beramen* (hereafter to be imposed) can be left out of the ground briefs, if they be deemed offensive.

"Stuyvesant has never disputed in court, but, as president, put proper interrogatories to the parties, and delivered the judgment of the court about; which the malevolent complain; but it must be proven that anyone has been wronged by Stuyvesant in court.

"As to what relates to the Second (Vice Director) Dinclagen, let him settle his own matters.

"It can be shown that Brian Newton not only understands the Dutch tongue, but also speaks it, so that their charge, that Newton does not understand the director's language, is untrue. All the other slanders and calumnies uttered against the remaining officers should be required to be proven.

"It is true that in New Netherland, a certain discourse was had to the effect that there was no appeal from a judgment in New Netherland, pronounced on the island of Manhatans, founded on the exemptions by which the island of Manhatans was established as the capital of all the surrounding colonies, and also that there had never been a case in which an appeal from New Netherland had been entertained by their High Mightinesses. It had been petitioned for when Hendrick Jansen Snyder, Laurens Cornelissen, and others, many years ago, were banished from New Netherland. It would be a very strange thing if the officers of the company could banish nobody from the country, while the officers of the colony of Renselaerswyck, who are subordinate to the company, can banish absolutely from the colony whomever they may deem advisable for the good of the colony, and permit no one to dwell there unless with their approbation, and upon certain conditions, some of which are as follows: Nobody, in the first place, can possess a foot of land of his own, but is obliged to take upon rent all the land which he cultivates. When a house is erected, he is obliged to pay an annual ground-rent in beavers, and so also must the boors, for which they allow them free trade, as they call it. Where is there an inhabitant under the jurisdiction of the company who expends or lays out any thing for trade or land? All the farms are conveyed in fee, subject to the clause *beraamt ofte nog te beramen* (taxes imposed or to be imposed).

"The English minister, Francis Doughty, has never been in the service of the company, wherefore it was not indebted to him; but his English congregation are bound to pay him, as may be proven in New Netherland.

"The company has advanced the said minister, from time to time, goods and necessaries of life, amounting to about 1,100 guilders, as the books of the colony can show, which he has not yet paid, and which he claims he should not pay. Whether or not the director has desired a compromise with Doughty, I do not know.

"Director Stuyvesant, when he came to New Netherland, endeavored,

according to his orders, to stop in a proper manner the contraband trade in guns, powder, and lead. The people of the colony of Renselaerwyck understanding this, sent a letter to the director, requesting moderation, especially, as they said, if that trade were entirely abolished, all the Christians in the colony would run great danger of being murdered, as may more at large be seen by the contents of their petition.

"The director and council, taking the request into consideration, and looking further into the consequences, resolved that guns and powder, to a limited extent, be sparingly furnished by the commissary at Fort Orange, on account of the company, taking good care that no supply should be carried by the boats navigating the river, unless in pursuance of a further order. It is here to be observed that the director, in order to keep the colony out of danger, has permitted some arms to be furnished at the fort. Nobody can prove that the director has sold or permitted to be sold any thing contraband, for his own private benefit. That the director has permitted some guns to be seized, has happened because they brought with them no license pursuant to the order of the company, and they would, under such pretenses, have been able to bring many guns. The director has paid for every one that was seized, sixteen guilders, although it did not cost in this country more than eight or nine guilders.

"It is true that a case of guns was brought over by Vastrick, by order of Director Stuyvesant, in which there were thirty guns, which the director, with the knowledge of the Second (Vice-Director Dincklagen) and fiscal, permitted to be landed in the full light of day, which guns were delivered to Commissary Keyser, with orders to sell them to the Netherlanders, who had no arms, in order that in time of need they might defend themselves, which Keyser has done; and it will appear by his accounts where these guns are. If there were any more guns in the ship, it was unknown to the director. The fiscal, whose business it was, should have seen to it and inspected the ship; and these accusers should have shown that the fiscal had neglected to make the search as it ought to have been done.

"Jacob Reinsen and Jacob Schermerhorn were a firm of merchants from Waterland, one of whom, Jacob Schermerhorn, was at Fort Orange, the other, Jacob Reintjes, was at Fort Amsterdam, who there bought powder, lead, and guns, and sent them up to Schermerhorn, who supplied the Indians. It so happened that the company's corporal, Govert Barent, having in charge such of the arms of the company as required to be repaired or cleaned, sold to the beforenamed Jacob Reintjes, guns, locks, gun-barrels, &c., as by Jacob Reintjes' own acknowledged letters, written to his partner long before this came to light, and by the information of the corporal, can be proven. The corporal, seduced by the solicitation of Jacob Reintjes, sold him the arms as often as desired, though the latter knew that the guns and gun-barrels belonged to the company, and not to the corporal. Therefore, a parcel of peltries (as may be seen in the accounts), bought, as appeared from the letters, with contraband goods, was confiscated. As the said Jacob Reintjes has been in this country since the con-

fiscation, he would have made complaint if he had not been guilty, especially as he was sufficiently urged to do so by the enemies of the company and of the director; but his own letters were witnesses against him.

"Joost de Backer being accused by the above-named corporal of having bought gun-locks and gun-barrels from him, and the first information having proved correct, he was therefore taken into custody, and his house searched according to law, in which was found a gun of the company; wherefore he gave security (to answer) for the claim of the fiscal.

"As the English of New England protected among them all fugitives who came to them from the Manhatans without the passport required by the usage of the country, whether persons in the service of the company or freemen, and took them into their service, it was therefore sought by commissioners to induce the English to restore the fugitives, according to an agreement previously made with Governors Eaton and Hopkins; but as Governor Eaton persisted in refusing to send back the runaways, although earnestly solicited to do so, the director and council, according to a previous resolution, issued a proclamation that all persons who should come from the province of New Haven (all the others excepted) to New Netherland should be protected; which was a retaliatory measure. As the governor permitted some of the fugitives to come back to us, the director and council annulled the order, and since then matters have gone on peaceably, the same as before the dispute about the boundaries.

"Nobody's goods are confiscated in New Netherland without great reason; and if anyone feels aggrieved about it, the director will be prepared to furnish an answer. That ships or shipmasters are afraid of confiscation, and therefore do not come to New Netherland, is probable, for nobody can come to New Netherland without a license or permit. Whoever has this, and does not violate his agreement, and has properly entered his goods, need not be afraid of confiscation; but all smugglers and persons who sail with two commissions may well be.

"All those who were indebted to the company, were warned by the director and council to pay the debts left uncollected by the late William Kieft, and as some could, and others could not well pay, no one was compelled to pay; but these debts, amounting to 30,000 guilders, made many, who did not wish to pay, angry and insolent (especially as the company now had nothing in that country to sell them on credit), and it seemed that some sought to pay after the Brazil fashion.*

"The memorialists have requested that the people should not be oppressed, which, however, has never been the case; but they would be right glad to see that the company dunned nobody, nor demanded their own, yet paid their

* This is an allusion to the recent loss, by the company, of Brazil, which had been taken from them by the Portuguese, whereby their debtors there got rid of their debts.

creditors. It will appear by the account books of the company, that the debts were not contracted during the war, but before it. The company has assisted the inhabitants, who were poor and burdened with wives and children, with clothing, houses, cattle, land, &c., and from time to time charged them in account, in hopes of their being able at some time to pay for them.

"If the taxes of New England, before spoken of, be compared with those of New Netherland, it will be found that those of New England are a greater burden upon that country than the taxes of New Netherland are upon our people.

"The wine excise of one stiver per can, was first laid in the year 1647.

"The beer excise, of three guilders per tun, was imposed by Kieft, in 1644, and is paid by the tapster, and not by the burgher.

"The recognition of eight in a hundred, upon imported beaver skins, does not come out of the inhabitants, but out of the trader, who is bound to pay it, according to contract.

"The director has always shown that he was desirous and pleased to see a deputation from the commonalty, who should seek, in the Fatherland, from the company, as patrons, and the Lords States, as sovereigns, the following: population, settlement of boundaries, reduction of charges upon New Netherland tobacco and other productions, means of transporting people, permanent and solid privileges, &c.

"For which purpose he has always lent a helping hand; but the remonstrants have secretly gone round exciting some of the commonalty, and by that means obtained a clandestine and secret subscription, as is to be seen by their remonstrance, designed for no other object than to render the company, their patrons, and the officers in New Netherland, odious before their High Mightinesses, so that the company might be deprived of the *jus patronatus*, and be still further injured.

"The remonstrants say that we had relied upon the English, and by means of them sought to divert the college (as they call it), which is untrue, as appears by the propositions made to them. But it is here to be observed that the English living under the protection of the Netherlanders, having taken the oath of allegiance, and being domiciliated and settled in New Netherland, are to be considered citizens of the country. These persons have always been opposed to them, since the English, as well as they, had a right to say something in relation to the deputation, and would not consent to all their calumnies and slanders, but looked to the good of the commonalty and of the inhabitants.

"It was never written in a letter, upon their solicitation, that they might secretly go and speak to the commonalty. The intention of the director was, to cause them to be called together at his own time, as opportunity should offer, at which time they might speak to the commonalty, publicly, about the deputation. The director was not obliged, as they say, to call the commonalty immediately together. It was to be considered by him at what time each one could conveniently come from home without loss, especially as some lived at a distance in the country, &c.

Taphaan
Freed land
Aliskonk
Spaij Kil
Kil
Chester
Marenik
Visschers Killen
Minnewits Eyl
de Verdrietige Hoek
Narrat Schoen
R. Tans Kamut
de Bedrieghlyke
Hoek
Rightawink
Pasquaskerk
Nochpeem
Krevits Hoek
Zee Broek
Ruyters Ey
40
40
45

Copied from the Original Dutch Map. New York 1854.
De Noord Rivier anders R. Manhattans off Hudsons Rivier Genaamt in t'Groodt
De Versche Rivier int Groodt
LANGE EYLAND

"That they have not been willing to communicate, was because all whom they had slandered would have been able to have provided themselves with the means of defense, and made the contrary appear, and in that case could have produced something from some of them. And since the director and those connected with the administration in New Netherland are very much wronged and defamed, I desire time, in order to wait for opposing documents from New Netherland, if it be necessary.

"Vander Donk and his associates say that the director instituted suits against some persons. The director, going to the house of Michael Jansen (one of the signers of the remonstrance), was warned by the said Michael and Thomas Hall, saying, there was within it a scandalous journal of Adrian van der Donck; which journal the director took with him; and on account of the slanders which were contained in it against their High Mightinesses, and private individuals, Van der Donck was arrested at his lodgings, and proof of what he had written demanded; but it was dispensed with on the application and solicitation of others.

"During the administration both of Kieft and Stuyvesant, it was by a placard published and posted, that no attestation or other public writing should be valid before a court in Netherland, unless it were written by the secretary. This was not done in order that there should be no testimony (against the director), but upon this consideration, that most of the people living in New Netherland are country or seafaring men, and summon each other frequently for small matters before a court, while many of them can neither read nor write, and neither testify intelligibly nor produce written evidence, and if some do produce it, sometimes it is written by a sailor or a boor, and is often wholly indistinct and repugnant to the meaning of those who had it written, or who made the statement; consequently, the director and council could not know the truth of matters, as was proper, and as justice demanded, &c. Nobody has been arrested except Van der Donck for writing the journal, and Augustus Heermans, the agent of Gabri, because he refused to exhibit the writings drawn up by the Nine Men, which were reported to the director, who had been for them many times like a boy.

"Upon the first point of redress, as they call it, the remonstrants advise, that the company should abandon the country. What frivolous advice this is! The company have, at their own expense, conveyed cattle and many persons thither, built forts, protected many people who were poor and needy, emigrating from Holland, and provided them with provisions and clothing; and now, when some of them have a little more than they can eat up in a day, they wish to be released from the authority of their benefactors, and without paying, if they could: a sign of gross ingratitude.

"Hitherto, the country has been nothing but expense to the company; and now, when it can provide for itself and yield for the future some profit to the company, these people are not willing to pay the tenth which they are bound

honestly to pay when called upon after the expiration of the ten years, pursuant to the exemptions.

"Upon the second point, they say that provision should be made for ecclesiastical and municipal property, church services, an orphan asylum, and an almshouse. If they are such philanthropists as they appear, let them lead the way in generous contributions for such laudable objects, and not complain when the directors have endeavored to make collections for the church and school. What complaints would have been made if the directors had undertaken to make collections for an almshouse and an orphan asylum! The service of the church will not be suspended, although Dominie Johannes Backerus has returned, who has been there more than twenty-seven months. His place is supplied by a learned and godly minister, who has no interpreter when he defends the Reformed Religion against any minister of our neighbors, the English Brownists.*

"The foregoing are the points which require any answer. We will only add some description of the persons who have signed the remonstrance, and who are the following:

"*Adrian van der Donk* has been about eight years in New Netherland. He went there in the service of the proprietors of the colony of Renselaerswyck, as an officer, but did not long continue such, though he lived in that colony till 1646.

"*Arnoldus van Hardenburgh* accompanied Hay Jansen to New Netherland, in the year 1644, with a cargo for his brother. He has never, to our knowledge, suffered any loss or damage in New Netherland, but has known how to charge the commonalty well for his goods.

"*Augustyn Heermans* went by the authority of Enkhuizen,† being then, as he still is, the agent of Gabrie, in trading business.

"*Jacob van Couwenhoven* went to the country with his father in boyhood, was taken by Wouter van Twiller into the service of the company as an assistant, and afterwards became a tobacco planter. The company has aided him with necessaries, as it is to be seen by the books, but they have been paid for.

"*Olof Stevensen*, brother-in-law of Govert Loockmans, went out in the year 1637, in the ship Herring, as a soldier, in the service of the company. He was promoted by Director Kieft, and finally made commissary of the shop. He has profited in the service of the company, and has endeavored to give his benefactor the world's pay, that is, to recompense good with evil. He signed under protest, saying that he was compelled to sign, which can be understood two ways, one that he had been compelled to subscribe to the truth, the other that

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* The Rev. Johannes Megapolensis is here referred to.

† A city in the North Quarter, which was one of the Chambers or departments of the West India Company.

he had been constrained by force to do it. If he means the latter, it must be proven.

"*Michael Jansen* went to New Netherland as a farmer's man, in the employ of the proprietors of Renselaerswyck. He made his fortune in the colony in a few years, but not being able to agree with the officers, finally came to live upon the island Manhatans. He would have come here himself, but the accounts between him and the colony not being settled, in which the proprietors did not consider themselves indebted as he claimed, Jan Evertsen came over in his stead.

"*Thomas Hall* went to the South River in 1636, in the employ of Mr. Holmes, an Englishman, who intended to take Fort Nassau, and rob us of the South River. This Thomas Hall ran away from his master, came to the Manhatans, and hired himself as a farmer's man to Jacob van Curlur. Being a freeman, he has made a tobacco plantation upon the land of that noted individual, Wouter van Twyler. Thomas Hall dwells at present upon a small bowery belonging to the Honorable Company.

"*Elbert Elbertsen* went to the country as a farmer's boy, at about ten or eleven years of age, in the service of Wouter van Twyler, and has never had any land of his own. About three years ago, he married the widow of Gerret Wolphertsen (brother of the before-mentioned Jacob van Couwenhoven), and from that time to this has been indebted to the company, and would be very glad to get rid of paying.

"*Govert Loockmans*, brother-in-law of Jacob van Couwenhoven, went to New Netherland in the yacht St. Martin, in the year 1633, as a cook's mate, and was taken by Wouter van Twyler into the service of the company, in which service he profited somewhat. He became a freeman, and finally took charge of the trading business for Gilles Verbruggen and his company. This Loockmans owes gratitude to the company, next to God, for his elevation, and ought not advise its removal from the country.

"*Hendrick Kip* is a tailor, and has never suffered any loss in New Netherland, to our knowledge.

"*Jan Evertsen-bout*, formerly an officer of the company, came the last time in the year 1634, with the ship Eendracht (Union), in the service of the Honorable Michiel Paauw, and lived in Pavonia until the year 1643, and prospered moderately. As the Honorable Company purchased the property of the Heer Paauw, the said Jan Evertsen, having the property, succeeded well in the service of the company; but as his house and barn at Pavonia were burnt down in the war, he appeared to take that as a cause for complaint. It is here to be remarked, that the Honorable Company paid 26,000 guilders for the colony of the Heer Paauw. The said Jan Evertsen built his house upon the land, and had given nothing for his farm, which yielded good wheat. Long afterwards his house was burnt. The land, and a poor, unfinished house, with a few cattle, he has sold to Michiel Jansen for eight thousand guilders.

"In fine, these people, to give their doings a gloss, say that they are bound by conscience and compelled by reason; but if that were the case, they would not assail their benefactors, the company and others, and endeavor to deprive them of this noble country, by advising their removal, now that it begins to be like something, and may hereafter be of some advantage to the company, and now that many of the inhabitants are themselves in a better condition than ever; endeavors caused, apparently, by the ambition of many, &c.

"*At the Hague, 29th November*, 1650."

Broad-Advice

TO THE

United Netherland

PROVINCES.

Gelreland.
Holland.
Zeeland.
Utrecht.
Vriesland.
Over-Yssel.
Groeningen.

Made and arranged from divers true and trusty memories

By I. A. G. W. C.

Antwerp.

Printed by Francis Van Duynen, Bookseller next to the Exchange in Erasmus 1649.

12. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?

13. Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.

14. Your new moons and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.

15. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.

16. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil;

17. Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

18. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

19. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land;

20. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

BROAD ADVICE,

OR

DIALOGUE ABOUT THE TRADE OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY, ETC.

BETWEEN

A.—Alfonso, *a Portuguese Soldier, serving the Company in Brazil.*
B.—Bouwen Krynssen, *Skipper.*
C.—Charles, *a Student from Sweden.*
D.—Domingo, *a Spanish Barber.*
E.—Stephen de Chefne, *a French Merchant.*
F.—Faust, *a Neapolitan.*
G.—Govert, *a poor English Nobleman.*
H.—Hans Christopher, *a High-Dutch Gentleman.*
J.—Jud. Hans van Schoonen, *Boatswain.*
K.—Konrad Popolski.

B. Well, comrades, though I am the last to come aboard, I am bold to be the first to ask how will we pass away the time on the way, while we are thus in a ship? is it by playing cards?

A. Although I speak bad Dutch, yet, as we are strangers, let us hear the news from one another.

C. There I am also *elogieert.* Is that good Hollandish, shipmate?

D. That does very well. *Yo non puedo mais, ha, ha, he!*

E. *Mon Dieu!* Here people are brought together to talk. We shall interpret each other.

F. *Bon jorno Signoresi, par il amor di dios*, that will be a ridiculous talk.

G. Wait a little. I will come by and by, as soon as my knapsack is off.

H. Why the devil don't these ragamuffins let me rest?

J. I have conversed with Hollanders so long, that they will talk much before it will trouble me.

K. It is good to drive away melancholy.

B. It cannot fail of our having some news, when we come together from such foreign quarters. But you, Senor Alfonso, what brings you from Brazil? Who has advised you so foolishly, that you should abandon your own country, which was so victorious, and enter our service?

A. Shall I tell some news first? May I speak freely the truth?

All. Yes! Yes!

B. Why not?

A. Well, I will. You Hollanders, do you not reproach our nation that they are traitors and rebels?

B. Yes; it is not otherwise, according to what is made known to me, and as it appears from this treacherous revolt.

A. I do not take that to myself, for I am yet a

servant of the Company. I will therefore speak the more freely of it.

B. Were it otherwise, speak freely, else we cannot comprehend.

A. All the mischief happens to you from your own nation, who have brought you into this labyrinth. For who has sold Cape St. Augustine? Was not Hoogstraten himself a Hollander? And the captain of the horse, Ley, Captain Hicq. and his brother, with Alberto Giraldo Wedda? Who have not regarded the advices of the revolt? Are they not the Supreme Council itself? Who have administered justice badly in Brazil? Are they not your own Council? Who have given so much credit, and handed over all the means to the Signors and those who, by the contracts, have drawn for the four million of guilders in money and effects, besides the eight millions of guilders which the inhabitants of Brazil were indebted to the Company, whereby they have hitherto carried on the war against the Company? Are they not your own Council? Who are they whom the High Council have suffered to go unpunished, after they were convicted of robberies, murders, and acts of treason? Are they not here in this country those who, directly or indirectly, obstruct the laws, or who, on the other hand, have not as yet punished these villains as they should have done?

Who are they who promised to maintain the people who have settled in Brazil under the decree of the year 1630, and do not now aid them as they should do; or, on the other hand, do not terminate their misery?

Who, whenever succor is devised, know how so to arrange the necessities, that no benefit can be derived from it?

Who are they who, when only the smallest number of troops in Brazil went out to reconnoitre, gave intelligence of it to the enemy, at what they were designed, what would be the expense, and how strong they were? As in the last attack on the Cararapes, a certain ensign having hid himself and his company of nineteen men in a morass, applied to the Supreme Council for assistance, in order that he and his company might be saved, and no sooner was the application made at the Reciff, than intelligence of it was sent from the Reciff to the enemy. As to which, when afterwards the ensign came to the Reciff and related circumstantially to the Supreme Council what had passed, it has been told to us for the truth, that the President said, "One of us four, then, must be a villain; for the letter of the ensign was communicated only to the four members of the Supreme Council." That person could not, indeed, have been a Portuguese, but of necessity must have been a Netherlander.

Further, who has so annoyed the inhabitants at Maranhon, that they have been compelled to protect themselves by desperate means? Was it not your director, Peter Jansen Bas, the Maranhon murderer, who put twenty-four Portuguese in a boat, and, through his cousin and secretary, Negentoon, set them adrift in the country of the Brazilians at Commenecij, where they were all cruelly murdered by the Brazilians, except one man who was saved?

Finally, who has so badly managed at Angola that the whole country was suddenly surrendered? Are they not the Netherland managers who were entrusted with the command?

Who has sold St. Thomas? Was it not your own commander? And yet they will cry out that our nation are the traitors, and charge them with all the mischief. What think you, friends, had Master Bouwen no reason to ask me what had caused me to forsake the victorious side of the Portuguese in Brazil? Had I understood the government of the Company as well before as I did afterwards, I should have well considered the matter four times.

E. Our nation, indeed, do not say much good of the Hollanders on this same matter and other bygone histories. Truly, the Rochellois ascribe all their trouble to the Hollanders, and principally to the deceased Admiral, Heer van Haultain. But it seems that God has hitherto listened to them who have now after a long time begun to open their eyes.

J. Well, Mons. Estienne, you have learned to talk Hollandish very quickly.

B. While you people are holding conversation, I am thinking what I, in return for this Portuguese dish, may rub in his beard. I certainly cannot swallow it, though what he says is true, when he hatchels our nation so. But, nevertheless, Senor Alfonso, I ask you, as Hoogstraten has sold the Cape, to whom has he sold it? Is it not to the Portuguese, and especially to those of Bahia? Who has given him the charge of Coronel? Is it not the Governor of Bahia? Who has given the

orders to the rebellious chiefs? Whence are the salaries drawn? In whose name are the forts demanded? Are they not all in the name and in behalf of Don John the Fourth, King of Portugal? Who have planned, promoted, set to work, and, from time to time, supported this revolt? Are they not all from Bahia, and hence from all Portugal, and almost all the Portuguese who dwell in Netherland Brazil, a few of that nation excepted? The banners from the Cape, from Zerinhaein, from Porto Calvo, from Rio St. Francisco, and those which were taken at the mill of Tourlon and at the Cararapes in the three battles, are they not hung up in Bahia in triumph? And so much as relates to those fraudulent contracts which you enlarge upon so, have not the Portuguese senors and the contractors brought them about by their rascally presents? We know well what such presents can accomplish towards the injury of a whole republic, much more of so innocent a Company, whose regents have always so attended to their particular profit that generally the community have suffered damage thereby.

Who knows what is going on, even at this day, here in Holland? What does the Portuguese ambassador here any longer, except, as a spy, to feel the pulse of one and another? And in the meanwhile so hinder what would be advantageously done for Brazil and other places, as either to prevent it entirely, or, at least, to prevent it from being done in time; or, if it be timely done, it so happens that it is known in Portugal and obviated before it is undertaken here. And though Hooghstraten and Champfleury, with more like

them, have forgotten their Fatherland, their own souls, and salvation, besides their honor and oaths, they are bribed thereto like Judases by the Portuguese. So that in this there is a greater fault in your nation than in ours, for what is done by ours is done by seduction, but that which is done by yours is done by design, in order to rob, steal, murder, and commit every other crime which can be thought of, and that almost in cold blood.

Besides, other correspondence was held at the Reciff, was it not with the Portuguese? Is that treasonable? How can your nation be excused of this, who built it up? And, if the seller of St. Thomas was a Netherlander (which I do not know), who was the buyer? Were they not Portuguese, yea, most all the Portuguese who live there, from the least to the greatest inclusive? So that I can, against one villain from our nation, set off a dozen, yea, a hundred or more, from your nation. But every one may carry his own burdens and villainies until he chokes under them, before I shall ever help him.

H. In our country there was formerly a pious citizen, of whom a dame complained that she had let him treat her improperly; and when the citizen said to the court that he had had such intercourse with her, a heavy fine was imposed upon both of them. So will it be done with these, for they are both equally guilty, and they will equally be taxed and shorn.

A. As to what you, Mr. Bouwen, say of Portuguese robbery, thievery, and murdering, I will set off

against them the wicked murder of twenty-four Portuguese, who, sent from the Maranhan, landed at Commassy, and were killed by the Brazilians or Cabocolos. Also, the horrible massacre at Conhau, for what can be imagined more cruel than that they should call the inhabitants together for the purpose of proposing something to them, and when they are assembled fall upon them, when they had no weapons at all with them, and massacre them!

But your godless Netherlanders have therein done the wickedest that could be devised. Tell me once, is it not true that in Rio Grande a public resolution was taken by the heads of the government, signed by the Schout, Schepens, and the Council of War, to massacre twelve prisoners and the sixty inhabitants, who, being unarmed, could do no harm? If this were deemed cruel by your nation, why are they not punished who did it? Why do they suffer no punishment who have connived at it, and have failed to be punished? It happened in this massacre that a certain little girl, from eight to ten years of age, was not willing to be separated from her father, who was brought out to be massacred, and when her father was killed, went and sat upon his dead body, crying "O! matta mi tambem"—*O! kill me also with my father*,—which did not happen according to her wish; but, nevertheless, that lamb was robbed of all her clothing, in the same manner as after that all the widows and orphans who were left by those who were killed were despoiled, and as afterwards the Portuguese who revolted were sent away.

Can you Hollanders digest all this in your consciences, without providing for some mode of justice therefor? Or is your justice tied?

B. This man contends like an enemy for his side; should he with better heart serve on ours, when he has so many reasons to the contrary? It was cruel. I know not what I shall say of that business. The truth lies in the grave. But do you know, Alfonso, that your countrymen are not as they ought to be where they can play the master; that they hung up by the legs the youth at Rio Grande, and on occasion shot them; that the prisoners were led out by pairs, and murdered in cold blood; that they cut off the private parts of some and stuck them in their mouths, and left them lying a vile spectacle. Yes, they chopped off the hands of some, and the Portuguese cavaliers presented them to their mistresses, saying, "See what white hands these dogs have." I would have a year's task, were I to relate all the cruelties which they have perpetrated. Some were found dead with thirty, twenty, and ten wounds, more or less; and how can they not be more mad at us, than they had been before this at their own Portuguese for debts only. For you know, indeed, that Diego da Raujo let strips be cut out of the body of his *laborador da farinha*, and let him, thus cut, be bitten by the mosquitoes and gnats for a whole day, and after that sprinkled him with lemons and Brazil pepper. Also Roderigo de Barros sawed a leg off of his slaves for the least fault that can be mentioned. * * * What would they then not do to us, whom they regard as open enemies?

A. What I could say against your people here is

unspeakable. Has not Lybargen suspended persons by the feet, and burned their feet with hot irons, so that they have been compelled to go all their lives upon crutches? And was he not helped away to Brazil by Mr. Carpentier and Secretary Jacob Hamel, when these matters were discovered, and that he must suffer therefor, because he had married the daughter of the Advocate Hamel, and niece of the Supreme Councilor Hamel, who concerned themselves about it so that no disgrace might fall upon their family, as once happened at the Hague to another fine brother of their name and kin, and as was told to us for the truth in Brazil. Something of this is to be seen in the public registers.

That must not appear so strange to you, as it appears to be customary here for notorious people to be admitted into public office. How many have there been in Brazil, whom we have known in the principal offices, who were bankrupts of low origin and full of all kinds of vices? Are there not persons employed in the courts of justice who have committed murder even while they were officers of justice, namely, Volbergen, Delinge, and Peter Jansen Bas, who sent twenty-five Portuguese from the Maranhan, who, innocent, were murdered at Commassy? As I hear, these men will obtain in this country offices in the public mint or elsewhere. And Delinge, who has committed such a public murder at Parayba on the person of Hans Styger, whom he killed from behind, as he stood making water. And what was the political councilor, Van der Voorde? Was he not the betrayer of Porto Calvo, although it miscarried?

And the traitor Champfleury, who afterwards sold Porto Calvo, was he not coming to Holland to be provided with a company? What advantage has Torquinus, at present, who compelled my brother-in-law, Francisco Carneiro, in Pojouca, to give so many cases of sugar, who was thereby excused for some time from making payment to the Company? Does he not say that he had been made, by their High Mightinesses, fiscal over the States soldiers in Brazil, and, by his Highness, receiver of the three per cents. This man's corruption may be seen in the secret notules, in what the advocate-fiscal has caused to be charged on the 28th of August, 1643, against him; and it will be found that this man as well becomes such an administration as a pickpocket a silver-cloth doublet.

F. Let us stop here a spell. Are you able to speak here so freely all those things of which you have made mention? Friends, I will have no part in what is said. I am a stranger in the country, and know not its customs. I will rather sleep.

G. I never heard such talk. The world is turned; the boy is master. Although I speak crooked Dutch, I can understand well. It is now two years since two brave citizens, shipwrecked in the Channel, passed through England, who came from New Netherland, and I have not in all my life heard the like as these men told us of the directors whom they have there.

B. Well, I have just come from thence, and have brought over a number of people in my ship who will complain of the present directors and some of the government.

K. Well, let us drive away melancholy. It is a hard word that cannot be spoken, and an impossible deed which cannot be done. Schipper, proceed, what kind of a country is New Netherland?

B. New Netherland is one of the finest countries which lie under the sun, with all kinds of fruits, vegetables, and trees; several fine rivers; fish are caught there in abundance in every diversion, to salt, to dry, to fry, to boil, but principally to eat and to sell. There are also already many tame cattle, and deer more than the inhabitants are able to kill. In short, there is every thing there in sufficiency. Birds, wild and tame, to overflowing. The wine-grape grows wild; onions also grow wild; chestnuts, mulberries, plums, medlars, wild cherries, currants, gooseberries, hazel nuts, small apples, strawberries, kraakberries, blueberries, earthnuts, artichokes in the ground, and more, similar to them, all grow wild. Besides, all that we have in Europe will grow there freely.

F. What latitude have you there, Master?

B. That's a seaman's question;—38, 39, 40, 41, 42 degrees along the coast.

F. That's a good climate, I believe you say, also. But what business is there?

B. Ho, ho, wish you so? I was forbidden by my master to tell that. You are also a merchant to make such an inquiry. I would not mention it, unless I knew that you intended to send cargoes there and obtain returns, then would I make a good talk about it with Senor. But we are now away from our subject.

F. Well, what subject, to be hauled up by one and another, by the tail?

B. Yes; were it fishing, I would haul it up by the head; but as their doings stink too much, I can take hold of no other end.

F. I perceive that you are one of the sea-jokers. What for governors have you there, and what are they doing? I perceive that you wish to speak of them.

B. First we had, before this present time, one William Kieft, born in Amsterdam, brought up from his youth as a merchant, who, having attended to his own and his master's business a long time at Rochelle, or neglected it, failed. Whereupon, his portrait, according to the custom there, was fastened upon the gallows, as several witnesses, still living, who have seen it with their own eyes, can testify. Being a long time out of business, this man was employed to redeem some captive Christians in Turkey. The money was entrusted to this bankrupt; and he went and released some, for whom the least was to be paid; but others, whose friends had contributed the most money, he let stay there, for whom their parents and friends were compelled once more to furnish money. This fine brother was appointed by the managers director over the inhabitants and trade of New Netherland, in the year 1637.

H. That is truly trusting the cheese to the cat.

B. The gentleman may well say that; but the bewinthebbers (managers) being for the most part merchants, knew how to strike a blow where it was not closely to be looked into.

F. I can imagine that, if you will say that merchants are not adapted to government. Tell that once at Amsterdam on the Exchange.

B. That is not exactly my meaning, for I know well that they understand how to govern by sea according to their wishes; why should they not be able to do so also on land?

H. Can there be traced out on the sea, where the ships sail, with all their courses?

All. Ha, ha, ha!

B. Why do you laugh so? Don't you know for what purpose this gentleman asks that? He will then say, that the ways of merchants, their orders, charter parties, monopolies, contrabands, and what more similar matters there are on the deep, unfathomable sea, cannot be traced out as easily as one can govern on land. So that if any profligate merchants are entrusted with the government of a country, the scepter of power cannot be wielded blamelessly, as Brazil, Angola, St. Thomas, and Guinea, have all for some years experienced. But the worst is, that as soon as any profit is to be derived, the largest merchants envy the smaller, not being willing for any others to enjoy it with them; and especially, whenever they can, use the power of government, under any pretense, so that all the fat may drip into the kettle of some few of them: what schemes do they then contrive? And whenever it serves their purpose to fail, no man would believe how they then, man and horse, know how to invent and spread a good report around, and then have another, who is the least a loser, or whom they most favor, dex-

terously to cover up their bad doings, like as the foxes at the North let themselves fall in the water in order not to be any longer bitten by the fleas; or to screen all manner of roguery, so that the credit of their goods and fortune sustain no injury, as will hereafter clearly be shown. They are the shrewdest merchants who best know how to avoid their losses, if not by cheating or smartness, then by force.

F. You know well that you must live by the merchants, Skipper; how prate you, then, thus of the merchants?

B. The merchants cannot do without us; and the devil's mate might serve the merchants. If one could not have justice against their indiscreet courses, he would be worse than a slave.

F. You abandoned your former discourse about your Director Kieft.

B. That happened so between us both, in a measure, after it was proper in the discourse. The merchants are very good in the government when they are selected; but then they must be of acute understanding, and have honest guardians besides to overlook them, and by a proper discretion to enlarge and curtail their power as may be convenient.

Kieft thus being made director, had now a path wherein, with good appearance and without being subject to much being said, he could have acquired honor and distinction. And it went along so for a long time, until some of the mayors in the Fatherland, that is, managers, envying the colonies and their founders that

they prospered any, wrote to him that, in order to take some of their profits from them, he should institute suits against them, and reckon half a fault for a whole one.

J. Well, upon my soul, that was enough to set the whole country in an uproar. Who durst write that?

B. If it were material, I could name man and horse (my author); but that is not necessary.

C. We must drive this thick nail in the beam and stop that floodgate, for it is all too bad. It pipes of the flutes, for there is already so much said under the rose: we should, without much doubt, if it were true that what you say was written there, have heard long ago who had dared sign such letters, without its being brought out so. Skipper, those fellows knew well if that came out that they would be dead men, if justice were done them. I therefore consider that writing a fable.

B. I tell you, in truth, it is no fable; and I therefore repeat, that I am able to name the author in one and the same breath.

H. Why, was it not said by your ancestors, that one may freely say what is true? It fails me to suspect who they are.

B. As you so strongly insist upon it, I will do it; though, as you do not know the person, I otherwise deem it unnecessary. Isaac van Beeck, Mr. Parkins, and Edward Man wrote them, as Commissaries of New Netherland.

G. The last two, whom Mister Bouwen mentions, are the most honest men in the world, as I know.

B. In this matter, however, they were not honest people.

A. Were the second one, whom you have named, in Brazil, the soldiers would quickly make way with him.

D. Why?

A. It was told us in Brazil, that he, being a commissary in the year 1647 to send arms to Brazil, observed such care thereof, that when they used them, both before the enemy and in exercise, they burst from ten to twenty at a time, about the heads of the soldiers.

E. Was there no complaint of this in Holland?

A. Would not Manager Van Els and another captain have both told us, that before they went to sea, all the muskets which were already burst were brought to his Highness?

C. If any one dared to manage so in our country, it would cost him his life.

J. Our king would consider it treason.

E. It is not to be interpreted otherwise, disguise it as you may.

G. The devil take the rogues, if that be true.

H. That is coarsely spun. I do not sell my skin to the Hollanders if they cheat so. These fellows did not play such tricks a second time!

A. I have seen the muskets bursted, not once, but several times. As to the rest, one may guess from this whether they burst.

E. But Van Beeck, after I knew him, was certainly a pious man. He had before this sat in the Consistory at Amsterdam, and may still be in it.

B. He is one of the Heaven-thieves, who, under the cloak of piety, are worse than poison. He knew of the murder and of Kieft's proceedings, who so blinded him and others, that no wickedness of Kieft could be so great but it was excused by him and those like him. Kieft, then, being thus written to by those who had command over him, to spring upon those who were under his command, for half as for whole offenses, was eager now the more to pursue the course; but, in the meanwhile, he was so careless in regard to his masters, that he let ten or twelve persons of the commonalty see the letters, in order to frighten them therewith, for otherwise no one would have known of them.

H. When such a rascal or bankrupt has gone so far, then must it be that another sustains him. That I understand very well.

E. It is not clear that it so happens. These people forget our French proverb—

Main droit et bouche
Peut aller par tout le monde. } monde.

A civil mouth and spotless hand
Can travel over every land.

What did this Director Kieft do further? I had formerly seen his portrait on the gallows at Rochelle, so I guess not much property followed him here.

B. Passing by divers trifling abuses, I proceed to the peculations which tend to the ruin of the whole

country. Be it known, then, that he had a long time nourished in his own bosom the design of making war upon the Indians of New Netherland, because they had refused him certain contributions, which they had done for reasons, saying that they did not consider themselves bound to contribute, to the director or the Netherlanders:

1. Not for the purpose of maintaining the soldiers, as they did them no service when they were engaged in war with other tribes; that they then crept together like cats upon a piece of cloth, and could be killed a thousand times before any tidings could come to the fort, which was situated far from them, much less could they be rescued by the soldiers, or seconded in time by them.

2. Further, that they had allowed our countrymen to take possession of the country peaceably; that they had never demanded any thing for it; and that we were indebted to them for that reason, and not they to us.

3. Item, that when our people, having lost a certain ship there, had built another new ship, they had assisted our people with provisions and all kinds of necessaries, and had taken care of them for two winters, until the ship was finished, for which we were indebted to them, and not they to us.

4. Wherefore, they asked, for what reason should they give our people maize for nothing, when they paid for every thing which they came to buy of us, as much as we asked?

5. We have, said they, given you the land where

you live, but we remain masters of that which we retain for ourselves.

Have we not, then, *Swannekens*, (that is, Dutch, or Hollanders), when you first came here, and had no *mochols* (that is to say, ships), furnished you victuals for two winters through, when, without that, you must have perished with hunger?

The delegates from all the Indian tribes, namely, the Raritans—whose chief they called Oringkes, after Orange,—the Hacquinsacks, the Wappenas, the Highlanders, Wicquasgecks, Reckewacki, Mereckewacks, Tappanders, Massapeins, Zinceuw, and others, had as many sticks as they had points to debate, which they laid down there one by one. Director Kieft seeing himself deprived, by so many reasons, of the contributions for which he was very greedy, and that it was disgracing him with our people, carefully meditated by what means he might satisfy his insatiable avarice.

E. Well, Skipper, how did that end?

B. At this time, anno 1643, about Shrovetide, these Indians were surprised by some other tribes (who were too strong for them) and compelled to retreat. They came to shelter themselves amongst us, not thinking that they had any treachery to expect from us. About this same time, there was a shroving feast at the house of Jan Janssen Damen, at which the director, in a significant toast, made known his meditated design against the Indians to three inconsiderate boors, to wit, Maryn Adriænsz, Jan Jansz Damen, and Abraham Plancq, who presented to him a petition prepared by Secretary Tienhoven, asking, inasmuch as the

Indians before that time had shot a certain servant of Mr. Van Nederhost, and no reparation or punishment had been made for the act, that he would now avenge it, in order to maintain the reputation of our nation.

K. Was that so?

B. I will tell you, Sir. A certain Hacquinsack Indian chief, who was not considered very sensible by the Indians themselves, was made drunk with brandy by our people, and being asked whether he in such condition could use his bow and arrow, in reply bent his bow upon a certain man, named Gerrit Jansz, a servant of the late Mr. Van Nederhorst, and shot him dead, and then asked whether he was able. Several Indians were killed in revenge for this man, and peace was made with the Indians. So that at the date when the director ordered the massacre, the very tribe which had killed the servant of the late Mr. Van Nederhorst, had been staying some weeks among the Dutch, and were supplied by the director with everything necessary. Thus the pretext was entirely false.

K. Was it, then, in one man's power to undertake for that reason war or murder?

B. That it might have some plausibility, a petition for it was presented; whereupon a letter was written on the 25th of February, 1643, to the effect that Maryn Adriænsen was authorized, at his request, to perform an exploit with his company, against the Indians living behind Curler's plantation, and to treat them as he found convenient, but according to time and circumstances.

E. Who ever gave such a letter? Who was the writer of it?

B. Secretary Cornelis van Tienhoven, who has now come home in order to make a report concerning New Netherland. He also had prepared the petition.

C. A child would have seen that this was a mere sham. This secretary deserved to be torn to pieces by four horses, as traitors are; and these three boors had, according to law, forfeited their lives. Were the people who were settled in the country warned to be on their guard, that no injury might befal them by resistance or assistance?

B. Nobody in the world, except the three heretofore named. The people settled in the country were not once thought of. The secretary himself went where the Indians were, the day before, to spy them out; and if the people of the farm lands had known that such was the intention, and there had been reason for it, not one of all the Indians would have escaped; or if there had been no reason for it, as there was not, the director could not have perpetrated such a murder, though he had had ten such treacherous secretaries.

J. As well as I can see into the business, the secretary was the principal cause of the consequences. But how did they do then?

B. Between the 25th and 26th of February, 1643, at night, over eighty Indians were massacred at Pavonia by eighty soldiers, where young children were snatched from their mothers' breasts, and cut to pieces in sight of the parents, and the pieces thrown into the fire and into the water; other sucklings were bound to wooden boards, and cut, stuck, or bored through, and miserably massacred, so that a heart of stone would

have been softened. Some were thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers endeavored to rescue them, the soldiers would not let them come ashore again, but caused both old and young to be drowned. Children, five or six years old, and also some old, decrepid people, as many of them as had escaped this fury and secreted themselves in the bushes and reeds, when they came forth in the morning to beg a piece of bread and to warm themselves against the cold, were murdered in cold blood, and pushed into the water or into the fire. Some came running past our people living on the farms, with their hands cut off; others had their legs cut off. Some carried their bowels in their arms; others had such horrible cuts, hacks, and wounds, that the like can never have happened elsewhere. And these poor people, and also many of our nation, did not know any better than that other Indians, the Maquas, had surprised them. After this exploit, the soldiers were recompensed for their services, and thanked by Director Kieft, by shaking of hands and congratulations.

At another place, at Corler's Hook, near Corler's plantation, on the same night, forty Indians were surprised in their sleep in the same manner, and massacred in the same way.

D. Has the Duke of Alba done more evil in the Netherlands?

F. Certainly you have such Netherland governors or directors, as the Duke of Alba might yield in reputation to them.

B. Yes, Sir. It is a disgrace to our nation, and it

behooved me to have kept it secret, if keeping it secret would have remedied it. But they have been written to there concerning it; yet it not only has not been remedied, but it has gone on worse, as you will hear presently.

H. Did the Indians let this go so?

B. Oh no, Sir. As soon as they were aware that the Swannekens had treated them so, they killed all the men on the farm lands whom they could surprise; but, as to the women and children, we have never heard that they did them any harm. Besides, they burned all the houses, farms, barns, stacks of grain, and destroyed every thing that they could come at, so that they began an open and destructive war.

C.—

Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi

What kings and princes madly say,
That must their suffering subjects pay.

B. I have been told for a truth that a certain skipper, named Isaac Abrahamsen, having saved a little boy in a sail-boat and hidden him under the sail, in order to present him to one Cornelis Melyn, and the child having, through cold and hunger, made himself heard by the soldiers, eighteen German tigers dragged him from under the sail in spite of the skipper, who could not, alone, save him against eighteen, cut him in two, and threw the pieces overboard.

F. But how did it please the inhabitants?

B. They were not only greatly dissatisfied, but they took notes of what passed from time to time; for those on the farm lands were all ruined, and there was little provision and little strength in the fort. These

they wrote to the Fatherland, and related the cause and occasion of this war, with all the circumstances, as they had happened.

J. How did you manage in the meantime, before an answer came back?

B. We were indeed compelled to choose one of two evils. Then the director allowed ravaging and robbing where he could, and in the year 1643 and 1644, full sixteen hundred Indians were slain in the war in the manner before related, some of whom were settled ten to twenty miles,* and more, off from us under the English, and were most all surprised in the night while asleep, some of whom had never seen any Dutch in their lives, much less done them any harm.

In April, 1644, seven Indians were arrested by the English on the great plain which is called Hempstead, —where Mr. Fordham, an English minister, had the rule,—because they had killed a hog or two of his, which was afterwards found to have been done by his own countrymen. Director Kieft being advised by Mr. Fordham that he had seven Indians under arrest, in a cellar, whom he dared not treat cruelly, because it could not be justified to his own people,—for such treatment will not be permitted there,—or also because his nation rather sought to create a general discontent among the Indians towards our governors, he immediately sent there Ensign Opdyck, with John Underhill, an Englishman, and fifteen or sixteen soldiers, who killed three of the seven in the cellar, and took four with them in the sail-boat, two of whom, with ropes

* Dutch measure.

tied round their necks, were thrown overboard and fastened to the boat, and in that manner were towed after it and drowned. Two were taken prisoners to Fort Amsterdam, where, having been kept a long time in the guard-house, the director became tired of providing them food any longer; and the soldiers being at variance, to whom this booty belonged, about going with it to Holland, he gave these poor naked Indian prisoners over to them, in order to cool off their insolence. They immediately dragged them out of the guard-house by the arms and legs, and attacked them with knives from eighteen to twenty inches long, which Director Kieft had caused to be made expressly for such purposes, saying that the swords were too long to be used in the huts of the Indians when they wanted to surprise them, but these knives could be more handily plunged into their bowels. The first of these Indians having received, before the guard-house, a horrible wound from such a knife, wished them to let him *Kinte-Kaeye*,—being a dance, performed by them as a religious rite;*—but he received so many wounds, one upon another, that he forgot the Kinte-Kaeye, and dropped down dead on the spot. The soldiers cut strips from the live body of the other, from the hams, up the back and shoulders, and down to the knees. Whilst this thong-cutting was going on, Director Kieft stood by, in presence of his counselor, Jan le Mon-

* Denton, in his "Brief Description of New York," describes this dance under the name of Cantica. The term is one of the few Indian words adopted by the whites, and is still in use among our old inhabitants to designate a dancing frolic. It is pronounced "Canticoy."

taigne, a Frenchman, and laughed right heartily, rubbing his right arm and laughing out loud, such delight had he in the work. He then ordered him, thus cut, to be dragged out of the fort, whence this poor, naked, simple creature went *Kinte-Kaeying* all the way. The soldiers, going with him to the beavers' path, threw him down, and stuck his private parts, which they had cut off, into his mouth while he was still alive, and after that placed him on a mill-stone and beat his head off.

H. What murder that was!

B. What I say is true. By the same token, there stood at the time twenty-four or twenty-five Indian women at the northwest angle of the fort, who, seeing this spectacle, threw up their hands, beat their mouths, and said in their language, "Shame,—what foul and unspeakable villainy this is; such was never heard of, or seen, or happened among us." The Indians have frequently during the war called out to us from a distance, "What scoundrels you Swannekens are! you war not against us, but against our innocent women and children, whom you murdered; while we do your women and children no harm, but give them to eat and drink, yea, treat them well and send them back to you;" as, in truth, it had happened that our children, who were taken prisoners by the Indians, on being returned to their parents would hang round the necks of the Indians, if they had been with them any length of time.

K. Well, Skipper, you have more news, though little of it good, than all of us together. How did it progress?

B. Director Kieft not being content with thus causing the fugitive Indians to be surprised, sent certain English spies with the soldiers, as guides, in order to point out the places, which were unknown to us, where the Indians were living, by which means many poor, unoffending Indians were foully and treacherously massacred.

G. What pay did the guides have for that service?

B. By the journey, according to the amount of booty taken,—sometimes 80, 100, to 200 guilders.

E. Well, what booty was there to take from these poor Indians?

B. Belts of zeewan, bows and arrows, sometimes beaver skins, but few to signify.

E. What importance was that?

B. It can not reduce the expenses of the war; and indeed, if there were any thing to tempt robbery, it was not worth enough—all the booty which was obtained—to cause a gallows to be erected for a thief, if one had stolen it, much less to carry on such a hazardous war.

F. How did your director manage with the inhabitants under these circumstances?

B. He began to introduce tolls, excises, and imposts, in order to obtain the means for the war, to which proceedings they were all opposed. Eight men, chosen from the people, understanding that Kieft, in his letter to the XIX.,* endeavored to shift the origin and cause of the war upon the people, have sent a

* The nineteen managers of the West India Company.

second letter to the Chamber of Amsterdam, wherein every thing is particularly stated, which letter was signed by these persons, namely, Joachim Pietersz-Keuyter, an elder of the Church, Cornelis Melyn, Isaac Allerton, Jacob Stoffelsz: Gerrit Wolfertz: Thomas Hall, Jan Evertsz-Bout, and Barent Dircksz:

E. Was there nothing done?

B. Yes; the managers before-mentioned, with whom he corresponded so intimately, sent him back a copy, and made known to him what persons had written, and what they had written; whereupon he meditated every means to revenge himself upon these persons, and by all kinds of pretexts and violence to discharge himself of those things laid to his charge.

A. That same work happened also in Brazil?

C. Whoever goes once beyond the limits of modesty, is generally stout in his immodesty.

D. He must have been a wicked man.

E. Had he any religion?

B. Ravens' religion, who rob whatever falls in their way. What religion could be expected in a man who, from the 3d January, 1644, to 11th May, 1647, has never wished to hear God's word, nor to partake of Christian sacraments, doing every thing to keep from church all those who depended upon him? His godless example was thus followed by his fiscal, Cornelis van der Hoyckens, and his counselor, Jan de la Montaigne, who was formerly an elder, Ensign Gisbert de Leeuw, Cornelis van Tienhoven, his secretary, Deacon Oloff Stevensz: and Gysbrecht van Dyck, besides various minor officers and servants of the company, down to

the soldiers inclusive, who all did not attend the administration of the Lord's Supper, or even the meetings to hear God's word. He permitted the officers and soldiers to perform all kinds of noisy plays during the sermon, near and around the church, rolling ninepins, bowling, dancing, singing, leaping, and other profane exercises. Yes, even the members who came in the fort* to celebrate the Lord's Supper, were scoffed at by this rabble, saying, "There they go again; they will give them a piece of bread to drink once thereto, and then sing and frolick." By this scoffing, difficulties have frequently arisen. During the preparatory sermon, Director Kieft often let the drum beat. The minister, Bogardus, requesting that the drum might be beaten a little further off, so as not to disturb the congregation, was answered that the drummer must go where the director had ordered him. The cannon was discharged several times during the sermon, as if he had ordered it for the purpose of going a-Maying, so that a miserable villainy against God's church was perpetrated in order to disturb the congregation. In the new church, which was built in the year 1642 by collections from the people, and roofed in the year 1643, there could have been preaching from that time to the year 1647, when Director Stuyvesant came. He has also often said to his own adherents, in substance, "Now the minister shall dispense the Lord's Supper again, and there shall scarcely come a man and a half or one horse's face. They will all follow us, and every one of them remain out."

* The church was built within the fort.

E. What was the cause of his making such bravados?

B. The cause of this director's crooked proceedings against the worship of God, besides his own perverseness and the devil's, and the instigations of evil people, was, externally, because the minister, the late Everhardus Bogardus, many times in his sermons freely expressed himself against the horrible murders, covetousness, and other gross excesses. The director reported falsely of the minister that he was drunk in the pulpit, so that the minister was compelled to take the affidavits of the people to the contrary, in order to use them as occasion required; and also said that the minister rattled only old wives' stories, drawn out from a distaff; that he was a great cackler, who spoke without tolerating contradiction; and that he was a seditious man, who sought nothing else than to excite the people and the servants of the company against him, who was their sovereign ruler. That Elder Joachim Pieterz: Keuyter, because he stood by the minister, was an assassin; wherefore, by the director's means, no consistory was assembled for two or three years, as no more than the minister and one elder were left, who did not dare to hold the consistory, as was sufficiently endeavored to be done afterwards, in order to cast a slur upon the body, and say, that they organized the consistory on private authority. It was said that the wickedness of the director extended so far, and he had so far forgotten himself, and his flatterers so well agreed with him, that he gave himself no concern either about God or man. Notwithstanding all the

uproar against God's church, the wise God has so specially directed, that whereas there were not, before his abandonment, more than seventy members from among the people, there were afterwards more than half as many added, and the members are so restrained by God's guidance, that less scandal has taken place than ever before.

F. Tell me, how could such an impious rascal as this director govern the people afterwards?

B. That may with good reason be brought up. As the spit was thus turned into the ashes, to go straight to sea was with him not to come from it. He was as jealous as the devil, whenever he observed that those whom he meant to trust without suspicion, came to speak familiarly with those whom he suspected. It was, as is said,

Conscius ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici:

"He whose conscience is troubled, supposes that every one is speaking of him." In the administration of justice, he gave corruption a free rein for himself and his people. He considered it a crime if any one spoke of appeal from his judgment, as appeared, among others, in a certain law-suit which he instituted against Laurens Cornelisz: captain of the Maid of Enckhuysen, because he said he had brought a box of pearls to his mother; which being true, as is known to this day, he nevertheless caused the skipper, on account of the richness of his freight and his illegal acts, to be condemned by his council according to his pleasure.

He was so boastful of his commission, which he had

both from the company and from their High Mightinesses and his Highness, that not only he himself, but his councilor, Jan de la Montaigne, maintained that he had absolute and sovereign power, like his Highness, or their High Mightinesses, and the West India Company; which comparison fell very odiously on the feelings, for this man wished to be great without striving after the qualities of true greatness, namely, virtue, honor, and piety.

His injustice and illegal administration of justice were also apparent in a certain suit against Francis Douthey, an English minister, to whom he had given permission to form a colony, before the war, and who had made such a beginning therein, that more than eighty persons had proceeded there. The war coming on, every thing ran down and came to a stand. They durst not go on with the work. The before-mentioned persons and the means melted away. Out of this, a suit was instituted. Master Douthey was permitted to build a colony on condition that he peopled the designated land, which condition was not performed. It could not be performed by him. It was, however, sufficient cause of action, in order to have the lands turned into the company by confiscation, and to give them to another patroon; as, by suit for that purpose, the matter was accomplished. Master Douthey appealing from this judgment, was fined twenty-five guilders, and was to remain in close confinement until the twenty-five guilders were paid.

G. Durst he do that to an English minister? It

was a brave case for reprisals upon the ships of the West India Company.

B. But Kieft saw that very well, and therefore he would not let the man go away, though he was greatly injured; but they were willing to let him go if he would promise, in writing, not to mention what had happened.

He carried on similar proceedings against one Arnoldus van Hardenburgh, curator of a certain barque of Seger Teunissen, in which some smuggled goods were found. The director and the fiscal claimed, therefore, that the goods in the barque were confiscated. Hardenburgh and his co-curators feeling aggrieved, protested against the judgment, and appealed therefrom to such judges as counsel should bring it before. For this he also was fined twenty-five guilders. He went as far as the prison, but not being willing to be led in by the sergeant, he paid it, like Master Doughty.

G. Why do not the States of Holland send some other person to hold better rule?

B. The States having fully understood all these evils, directed the managers—who were well aware that they had too long played with Director Kieft they well knew, what part—to correct them. The managers thereupon chose Petrus Stuyvesant, late director at Curaçoa, a minister's son in Vriesland, who had formerly stolen the daughter of his own landlord at Franiker, and was caught at it, and let off for the sake of his father, otherwise he would have been disgraced. He was to be director in Kieft's place.

E. How did this company know where to look up all these rascals? I believe that they must have magazines full of them.

B. Their High Mightinesses thought that the managers would take care that no more complaints would be made about a brutal, much less a wicked direction; but we are informed that the same managers who had intrigued with Kieft, had already, to the decline and ruin of New Netherland, induced him (Stuyvesant) to sustain Kieft, and to annoy the inhabitants upon every pretext whatever. He could not restrain himself until time and occasion furnished a cause, but while on his way to New Netherland, threatened that when he arrived there he would teach the boors better. As he had promised by oath and by grip of the hand that he would punish the faults of Director Kieft according to their merits, and properly sustain the inhabitants, so the result has proven entirely the contrary of those fine promises, according to the instructions which he had already shown to several, and which had been given him by the managers, ordering him to do as he has since done.

I. Is that not the same Stuyvesant who, before this, attempted to take Fort St. Martin for the company, where he lost his leg?

B. He is the very same. The managers regarded that as a Roman achievement by him.

I. All those who were with him there will say otherwise; how he used up the powder, which was given us for the expedition, in firing salutes on the voyage, and when any thing was to be done, there was

none on hand. Every thing went on as disorderly in that expedition, as had never happened on any expedition. We were compelled to move off and retire without accomplishing any thing,—on account of his leg alone, which was shot off by the first cannon-shot from Fort St. Martin,—and leaving every thing behind which we had brought there, including five or six fine field-pieces. Was not that a brave Roman business? Who knows what expense the company has been put to for this expedition? Did not such a brave and prudent hero deserve to be chosen and sent, by way of promotion, as director and redressor-general to New Netherland?

B. When he comes from there, the managers may send him to Brazil as president, in order to spoil entirely what remains, as he is accustomed to do.

I. He now, surely, gets every day a day older, and ought to improve so as to wipe out previous faults. How does he manage, now, in New Netherland?

B. Improve, say you, Comrade! like old wolves and sailing-ships, which get every day a day worse.

I. Does he curse and storm and rage, as he used to do, to striking and beating?

B. In that respect he is still the same man as he was of old; so there is no change to be expected, except for the worse.

I. What entry had he in New Netherland?

B. There was brave shooting on all sides, so that they were compelled to buy powder elsewhere to use in case of need, and for exercise.

I. That I can well guess. But how does he manage with the inhabitants?

B. When he first came, some of the principal inhabitants welcomed with uncovered heads their new director. He kept them standing several hours bareheaded, while he had his hat on, as if he were the Grand Duke of Muscovy, offering nobody a seat to sit down, although he himself had sat down at his ease in a chair, in order the better to give audience to the welcomers.

I. You speak so lively of his manner, that I imagine I see it all now. Proceed about this brute.

B. In short, when he took the direction from Kieft, and the Commonalty were called together for the purpose, Kieft first thanked the Commonalty for their loyalty, and the like, but more than was reasonable, in hopes that the Commonalty would have returned him thanks unanimously, which was actually proposed. Some spoke out roundly that they did not thank him, nor had they reason to do so, among whom were Joachim Pietersz : Keuyter, and Cornelis Melyn. Stuyvesant, under the blue heaven, promised, with loud words, that every one should have equal justice, which was pleasant to the ears of the Commonalty to hear. But some days afterwards, as he was persuaded and induced by Kieft, Stuyvesant held court, and let the letter of the Common's-men, written to the Chamber of Amsterdam against Kieft, be brought before it. As he had taken sides with Kieft, he wished to take care that nothing should be written afterwards against himself, and accordingly considered these eight deputies as private individuals, and also so regarded all their business and the whole suit between Kieft and them. With

him it was *crimen læsæ majestatis*, to unite against the magistrates, whether there were cause or not. Kieft's bare denial availed more than the Commonalty's men proved; and when the deputies offered divers memorials, points of inquiry, and persons, in order to establish the truth of what was written, they were at once partly rejected, partly received without weight, and partly concealed before the day came. Yes, what was still more, they got the persons who had signed the letter, and compelled them by high authority and heavy threats, as also fine promises, first not to mention what should be proposed to them; then, to revoke what they had written, or at least to give it another gloss, and to say that they were suborned to sign it, and were misinformed, not even knowing what they had signed, and that they had done it only upon the earnest solicitation of some who, as was seen by the signatures, remained firm, and still defended the same.

So Director Stuyvesant passed sentence against Joachim Pietersz: and Cornelis Melyn, in which he maintained—that they had clandestinely and lyingly accused Director Kieft, their lawful governor and chief, and injured him, yes, falsely belied him—in which he, with his Council, in that well-ordered republic of New Netherland, willing to protect his cause, in the name of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General, his Highness the noble Prince of Orange, and the General Authorized West India Company, condemned Joachim Pietersz: Keuyter to a banishment of three successive years, and (a fine of) one hundred and fifty guilders, one-third for the fiscal, one-third for the poor, and one-

third for the church. Cornelis Melyn was charged in his sentence with more crimes, and visited with severer punishment. (As Kieft had before this supposed that he would have a share with him in Staten Island, and Cornelis Melyn, with whom he had agreed in the Fatherland to treat with about it, had been compelled to conclude agreements with others,* Kieft meditated playing him this trick, as the result showed.) As can more fully appear by the sentence, which is in existence,† he was convicted as above-mentioned, of having committed *crimen læsæ majestatis*, *crimen falsi*, *crimen* of slander, and on account of these incurred the deprivation of all benefits derived or to be derived from the company, a penalty of 300 guilders, to be applied as before-mentioned, and banishment for seven years from New Netherland. So that those whom Kieft had insulted were kicked away by Stuyvesant.

It is worthy of particular note that when it was stated to Director Kieft that these proceedings would be regarded in a different light in Holland, he answered, "We may alarm each other but little about justice in Holland, which in this case I consider nothing more than a bugbear."

And Stuyvesant said, "If I knew you would hereafter appeal from my sentence, or divulge the same, I would, by my soul! take off your head, or hang you to the highest tree in New Netherland." He represented the affair of Kieft to those around, as favorably as he

* Kieft had, upon the mandate of the West India Company, granted a patroonship in Staten Island to Melyn.

† See Note, at the end.

could, and spoke against the faithful Commonalty's men so violently that the froth hung from his beard. And that it might more boldly appear that he was not inclined to observe the order of their High Mightinesses, and his promises to them, and to give the Commonalty reasonable contentment, he immediately made Jan Janssen Damen church-warden—a man who had signed the petition to murder the Indians.

E. He was a fine church-warden, with his bloody hands!

B. It is to be apprehended, if the Netherland United Provinces, their High Mightinesses, and his Highness, do not see to it in time, that the names of Netherland, their High Mightinesses, and Orange, will stink, not only with the Indians, but with all Christendom. It is disgrace enough that it has not been attended to before. Therefore, those to whom the welfare of Netherland, New Netherland, and of the government and the inhabitants, is dear, ought to endeavor that this matter be redressed.

I. But the sentence before-mentioned, was it carried into execution?

B. Certainly; for it was of great importance to the new director, Stuyvesant, to his own honor and reputation, yea, his own life. They were brought on board as exiles, and torn away from their goods, wives, and children. The ship "Princess" bore the director (Kieft) and these two true patriots from New Netherland, till, arriving in the (English) Channel, she ran upon a shoal and beat to pieces; when this godless Kieft seeing death before his eyes, and sighing

deeply, doubtfully asked both of them: "Friends, I have done you wrong, can you forgive me?" The ship being broken in eight pieces, drove the whole night in the sea till day-break. The most of them were drowned. Cornelis Melyn lost his son. The Minister Bogardus, Kieft, Captain John de Vries, and a large number of men were drowned. There was much wealth lost with Kieft, as the ship's return cargo was worth more than four hundred thousand guilders. Joachim Pietersz: Keuyter remained upon the after part of the ship alone, upon which a piece of cannon stood, which he observing from above out of the port-hole, in the break of day, took to be a man, and accordingly spoke to it, but receiving no answer supposed he was dead. He was finally thrown on land with it, to the great astonishment of the English, who stood by thousands on the shore, and hauled the cannon to land, as a perpetual memorial. Melyn floating back to sea, fell in with others who remained upon a part of the ship on a sand bank, which at the ebb-tide became dry, when they took some planks and pieces of wood which they put together in the sand bar, and took as many shirts and other garments as were necessary for a sail, so that they were enabled to get from the sand bar, over the channel, to the main-land of England.

And as these persons were mostly concerned for their papers, some of which were totally lost in the sea, they fished for them till the third day. As many of them as were packed in a box, were saved, and are to this hour in possession of Joachim Pietersz.

C. How some people are tossed about in the world! How did these men ever get justice?

B. They told me afterwards, that when they reached Holland, they understood the managers lamented very much the loss of the rich cargo and the ship, and so many fine folks, and grieved that two bandits, rebels, and mutineers had come to annoy the company with their complaints.

I. Was that the comfort which they received from the managers?

B. That was not only their comfort, but some of the managers have attempted to prevent a hearing for them by their High Mightinesses.

I. It were better that hell and hell fire stopped these villains. Who dared attempt that?

B. Those who corresponded with these godless children of Belial,—Van Beeck and Pasquin,—men whom they knew how to stir up. They obtained a hearing, however, and presented their matters so plainly before their High Mightinesses, that they thought proper to prohibit such wicked proceedings, dispatching letters of prohibition. They sent for Stuyvesant to come back, or else to send an attorney either to sustain his sentence, or hear it annulled, or to reverse it there. For this their High Mightinesses provided them all necessary mandates, protections, executions, and other necessary instruments.

I. How did Stuyvesant manage in the mean time towards the inhabitants; and what regulations did he adopt?

B. Show of religion, and hypocrisy, form one part of this man, and puffed-up pride, especially in regard to his commission, another part, and avarice a third part. All his acts sprout from these three roots, and shoot their tops in the wind far above others. As soon as he had taken possession of his directorship, he began first to make the church of use to him, which was a fine example. He sighed during the sermon so that he was heard by the whole church. Who would not suppose that he would be a righteous Solomon, Abiah, Asa, and desired prince? But all this fine show was covered by the clouds of his dark deeds. And when the news came that the exiles were permitted by their High Mightinesses to return, and that their High Mightinesses had granted their appeal—which Stuyvesant had never thought that they would have gone so far with, but that the managers would, as they had assured him, have prevented it—feeling pricked on account of these things, he sought advice on all sides, which was not without benefit to him; for some showed him how wrongly he had proceeded against the persons,—who were chosen for the Commonalty's men,—as against private individuals; so that, he knowing that he had injured them, and being advised to quiet the people, was well disposed to do so. But when he came to Secretary Tienhoven, he was, as if it would hurt his reputation, turned around. So that, relying upon his worn-out reputation, he has dared to say, "If they return with never so strong an order of their High Mightinesses, I will send them back again, and teach them how to appeal."

Item: it being mentioned to him that in Kieft's time appeals were intended, he said, "What happened then little concerns me, but some one may in my time think of appealing also, but if any one should appeal from my sentence, I would cut off his head, and send the pieces to Holland, and so let him appeal."

Notwithstanding the great noise with which he inquired of these people, he began on their arrival to create a diversion, but it failed him.

And when Cornelis Melyn arrived on the 1st of January, after many hardships, he wanted to take by force all the letters which Melyn had brought with him, to whom he sent the fiscal and secretary twice in the night.

But Melyn sent nothing to him, except the passport of their High Mightinesses. He thereupon sent, the third time, a sergeant to have him appear before the General with his papers. He was answered by Melyn, that he would come before the council in the morning, and then produce and deliver up every thing which he had to produce and deliver. Had it not been for the strong protest of the councilor Lubbertus van Dincklage, vice-director, who was not willing to have any thing to do with his opposition and hasty rage against the passport of their High Mightinesses, he would with his soldiers have thrown Melyn again into prison.

The next day, in the morning, Melyn being summoned, appeared and delivered all the orders and dispatches of their High Mightinesses, and also those of his Highness, and of divers others written to him

particularly. When these letters were read through, the *hand was in the hair.** Good advice was the best, whereby he was so far brought over, that he said to Melyn and answered that he, Stuyvesant, would follow the orders of their High Mightinesses, and he, Melyn, should pursue his business as before. But these words had no significance; for Melyn desired to be *rung in* as he was *rung out*, and reinstated as a Commonalty's man, from which place he had been unrighteously removed; also to have restitution of the losses which he had sustained by these rude and unlawful proceedings. He would grant none of them.

It was determined to carry into effect the order of their High Mightinesses on the 8th of March, 1649, at the time when the general, Stuyvesant, had convened the Commonalty of New Netherland in the church, in order that he might have his ample commission read before them, and his sovereign government vindicated thereby. By this he intended to kill dead the present order of their High Mightinesses, or at least to suspend it, besides endeavoring to effect other like designs upon his own responsibility. The Vice-Director Dincklage protested that he had no knowledge of and gave no consent to these movements, and that the General had of his own motion caused this assembling of the Commonalty, and presented his own views to them without communicating them to him, the vice-director. This protest he villainously ridiculed; whereupon Melyn, perceiving that the longer he staid the worse it was,

* That is, Stuyvesant was perplexed.

left the execution of the mandate of their High Mightinesses to be effected by Arnoldus van Hardenberg, who was invited and agreed to do so in presence of the whole Commonalty.

The director-general seeing such unexpected opposition befalling him, did not know what countenance to assume: to attack any one hostilely in presence of all these witnesses was not prudent, and to do nothing was to injure his reputation before such a large assemblage of more than three hundred persons. He asked Melyn whether he would now let the order be executed, who answered, Yes. He seized the mandate angrily out of the hands of him executing it, so that the seal of their High Mightinesses hung to the parchment in halves, and if it had been paper only, it would have been torn by this irreverent grabbing. When those who stood next to him earnestly admonished him to have respect for their High Mightinesses, a copy of the mandate was placed in his hands by Melyn, and the original mandate was again put in the hand of the person executing it, who read it out loud, and required his answer thereto. Shortly afterwards, the lowest part of the seal fell off.

H. I have seen more such birds hobble off than fly. Had he no other respect for his lords and chief magistrates, he would with us certainly forfeit his life.

B. It ought to be so here too, and I do not consider him yet free.

E. But did he give no answer to the mandate?

B. That would have been worse than madness, as he had nothing to answer. He said the States and

their commission were to be honored, their commands obeyed, an authorization sent, and the sentence sustained.

E. But, as on a sentence of banishment more persons ordinarily sit, why were not the others, who had taken part in the sentence, cited with him?

B. On the 16th of March, 1649, the fiscal, Henrick van Dyck (who had committed a well-known murder at Utrecht, and had been compelled to go from thence on account of it), was summoned to sustain the sentence. He answered that he had taken no part in this question, notwithstanding he was mentioned in the sentence as the accuser, and had subscribed it.

I. Henrick van Dyck! Was he not ensign formerly in New Netherland, when Kieft was there?

B. Yes, it is the same man, who dragged the Indians from Hempstead.

I. But since then he has been fiscal. How has he attended to that office?

B. That I will tell you shortly. It happened that Cornelis Eenckhoorn was very murderously cut in the belly by Skipper Jan Huygens, after some had escaped from him whom he intended to serve similarly. This murderer was imprisoned in the guard-house, and the same night was taken back by the fiscal, Van Dyck, to the house where the dead man was lying, and sat there drinking with the fiscal till the latter part of the night, when he made his escape by the chimney. Furthermore, Skipper Isaac Abrahamsz: being shot dead by Skipper Adriæn Blowmærts, pilot of Stuyvesant's galiot, he was brought by the fiscal on board of us, and

remained till we were some days at sea. I knew nothing of it, and put him ashore at the Huys-duynen, to take care of himself. But it may be seen how strongly the disposition to murder has increased in the fiscal under this director. Gerrit Slomp, son of a fish-woman of Amsterdam, was very murderously stabbed to death by Joannes Rodenburgh. The murderer was never molested in New Netherland, where the deed was committed, whose brother was one of the councilors there.

I. How fared the other councilors; were they not cited?

B. The vice-director, Lubbertus van Dincklage, was summoned on the same day, and answered that he had been misled, because the various papers which were now produced were concealed from him at the time, and would otherwise have acquitted the condemned; furthermore, because Stuyvesant, in giving the sentence, had first decided that these persons had written about public affairs without being qualified by public authority.

Monsieur la Montaigne, councilor without commission from the Fatherland, a Frenchman, cited, made answer that Melyn should first give the reasons for citing him, and then he would answer.

Brian Nuton, captain and lieutenant, an Englishman, answered that he did not understand what it was, but would answer in the morning.

Paulus Leandertsz:, equipage-master, gave for answer that he would appear or send an attorney, provided Melyn would first give security.

Abraham Planck, one of the request-masters, answered that he did not know how the war began.

On the 23d March, 1649, Cornelis van Tienhoven, the secretary, was summoned by process as before. He was the cause of the war with the Indians, and of all this affair, and deferred answering until the 25th of May. He said that he did not wish to give any answer, and did give none.

On the 23d of May, Jan Jansz: Damen, one of those whose names were upon the petition to carry on the war with the Indians, answered that whenever the order of their High Mightinesses was shown him wherein his name was specified, he would then come, provided Melyn first gave security for the costs.

C. If it be managed there, as you say, it is very badly done by the director and part of his council. But did he manage afterwards to sustain his sentence, and to send his attorney to the Hague?

B. As Melyn was compelled to protest against him, he finally sent a written answer. The protest was made on the 29th of July, and was first read in full council on the 9th of August. The answer was dated the 10th of August, in which he for a great part receded from his former sentence, especially from the banishment; excusing himself also that he was not bound to make restitution because he had received nothing, and also because he understood that while the matter was hanging under appeal he was not obliged to make restitution, and alleging similar frivolous reasons; and leaving Melyn in free possession of his goods and effects. In short, of all what this affrighted judge

had undertaken, his troubled conscience remained. Seeing that the men stood firm to their purpose that he should either make them reparation or send an attorney to Holland, he resolved to send the Secretary Tienhoven to Holland; and in order that he might anticipate them, the secretary went in a small ship fourteen days before them, and we, with the deputies of the Commonalty, followed fourteen days afterwards. But as the secretary ran behind Ireland, as he deemed it necessary to do so, in order not to get on the same shoal as Kieft, and as we, with the deputies of the Commonalty, took our course straight to the Channel, we got in before him.

C. Must, then, a whole committee be sent against one man? Could not Melyn alone see after him—one against one?

B. No, Sir. I understand there are more complaints to be made against the director, and their High Mightinesses must be fully informed, and see what the Commonalty have done to be rid of such an intolerable government, or at least to have it corrected.

C. Certainly it is not necessary that more should be shown than you have already stated.

B. I would have, indeed, a year's work, if I were to tell all that has passed there improperly.

E. If you have any more of these proofs, Skipper, tell them as briefly as possible. I have something else to inquire of you about.

B. In order to conclude this statement, you should know of this director that whoever has him opposed to him in New Netherland, as long as he is there, if he

have ever so just a case, he must suffer such fines and amends as pleases him. In matters of confiscation, he has as much discretion as a wolf for the lamb, which it devours be he right or not. If he sees beforehand that he cannot bring his ordinary councilors to concur with him in their votes, he takes as many extraordinary councilors as he can, with their votes to accomplish his deviltry, and then advises with his ordinary councilors. And when he can do nothing else, he brings his own opinion in writing upon the table, in order that those who have any thing against it may immediately speak against it; which is ordinarily so long that the reading becomes tiresome. If that miscarries, he proceeds to scold and threaten every one, and makes such a clamor that one might wish that he were out of the council-chamber. Where there are two parties, before the case is presented he is the advocate of one of the parties to whom he is most friendly, or who has best bespoken him. There is no trade, in which there is any certain profit, but he seeks to get it all. The diversity of which is wonderful. He is a brewer; he is a shipowner; he carries on alone all kinds of business which we all do; he builds, he fishes, and does a thousand like things, especially annoying to the farmers. In what he does alone, he regards nobody, either the least or the greatest—either public or private persons; for when it was determined by the Commonalty's men to send a committee to Holland, the director at first was willing it should be done; but when they made charges against the director himself, he would not consent to it. He went in person to the lodgings of the president of

the people's men, and took from thence certain notes from which he (the president) intended to prepare a journal. Having possessed himself of these, he then made the president stay in his own cottage, a prisoner. He undertakes a business rashly, which he soon wishes, when he comes to himself, that he had never begun. He first sees every thing from behind, and is so hypocritical and fickle that he cannot be depended upon. He has secretly complained to the minister that his mind was so troubled that he wished God would, ordinarily or extraordinarily, by his word or his servant, show him what to do; whereupon the minister boldly held up before him his errors, and exhorted him to improvement, so that he whined like a dog; but, coming to his work and wants again, he fell continually into greater and grosser faults. Thus, there are no hopes for the better. He forbids, upon pain of death, any one to sell fire-arms, powder, or lead to the Indians, yet does it himself in the sight of all the world; for which, he says, his masters have given him orders. If this be true, what do they else than to put in the hands of the Indians a knife with which to cut our throats, as opportunity may offer?—the which (God help them) has happened too much to those from Fatherland; and it was time that a stricter order was given thereupon. To say all in a word: this man has so many particular qualities, of which not one is serviceable in a desirable republic, that he is not fit to rule over Turkish slaves in the galleys, much less over free Christians. The persons who have come over as deputies, have whole trunks full of papers containing charges

against him, which Secretary Tienhoven will have enough to do to answer.

E. You are continually speaking of this Tienhoven. Who is he?

B. He is a man who has run after the Indians like an Indian for love, departing from his religion, and whose father killed himself.

E. What devil, then, does he worship?

B. He never has any scruples of conscience, from which he is to the remotest extent removed. He is a libertine, and there is no religion unless it will burn him. He resembles the serpents; those whom he stings he laughs at, and while he flatters he bites. He cheats every one who deals with him. Even his own brothers-in-law and friends are not free from his tricks, who have on that account frequently made him out a villain and the like. His wife was, before he married her, reputed to be a whore; and he frequently told others, "If this whore thinks that I will marry her, I will know better than that;" and shortly afterwards he married her, though, not ten days before, he himself had considered her a whore. Her mother protested that what had happened before his time should not be laid to her charge; that he well knew what she was; if she, therefore, did not please him, he might have left her as she was. She was, even during her marriage, caught in adultery, and proclamations were made concerning it for the purpose of instituting criminal proceedings against her. The pot was, however, covered up.

He has also been the book-keeper of the company,

where he has acted so wickedly, both as regards private individuals and the company, that the poor common soldiers have not been secure from his thievish accounts and book-keeping. Peter Kock has shown me, as is to be seen at the office of the company at Amsterdam, how impudently he filched from him twelve guilders, and placed them to his own credit.

He has endeavored to pilfer from another honest commissary, Crol, four thousand guilders by false accounts.

In whatever he is engaged there is always, by his management, strife and contention; as, in writing a will for Wilhelm Bredenbeut, he had the witnesses, but would not let them subscribe their names. Every species of villainy which can be thought of, he has committed. He has so kept his books, that never, or very seldom, especially if any dispute occurred, could the truth be drawn from them, so as to show the people where the entries were taken from which were charged against those interested in them.

In short, nothing good can be said of this man, and no wickedness can be left unsaid of him. To the Indians and Christians in New Netherland is he so obnoxious, that they have desired and sought that this rascal should be sent out of the country, or that they would again engage in open war with us. Both his brothers-in-law signed that wicked request to murder the Indians. What worse can be said than murderer, thief, cheat, whoremonger, and villain? and if he had not these faults, he would, with Clement Marot's servant, be the best man in the world.

E. What nations live next to New Netherland, and how do these wicked regents behave themselves towards them? It is very dangerous to live under such a government.

B. The English, in thousands and an hundred thousand families, are our neighbors, so to speak; and there are some Swedes, or Hollandish Swedes, who have wedged themselves in, God knows how, between them and us! Our directors have so conducted towards them, taking from English harbors ships of persons trading with the English, that much bad blood exists; but that nation are not easily led to excesses. If, however, their High Mightinesses, or the government of our Fatherland, do not see to it in time, our nation will, by means of such scoundrels, come short; for the English, while they might have gone along smoothly, being once offended, are very sensitive. Matters have transpired between us and them, which would not be tolerated if every thing should be examined into, as it ought to be, by us as well as by them.

E. Is there no boundary-line between you and them?

B. There is no trifling difficulty about that, with which the sovereigns of both nations may be troubled. I would that that matter was settled.

E. But how came the Swedes there? What pretense have they there?

B. You may well ask that; but what is known to me, I will keep in my sleeve, in order to see if they who are the cause of it will not remedy the same; for Jan Prins, who is the commander there, obtains cargoes

and ships from Holland. I cannot understand how men so lost to all shame live in our Fatherland. But I say no more. God help or God destroy those who so contrive to injure us, and send to him openly guns, powder, and lead, in order to sell them to the Indians, and ultimately to murder our people.

H. Is there no counsel in Holland against all such villainy?

B. There is in Holland counsel more than enough against it, if they who receive it would only adopt it.

How easily could those who were appointed regents be required to state their birth-place and condition, and their subsequent lives then be inquired into, in order that such notorious scoundrels should not be appointed to high places over us! Or it might be left to the Commonalty to seek out one or more persons, according to their pleasure, or to contrive other means, so that at least open murderers, thieves, and villains should not be entrusted with the command, and neither the people there nor the government here, as well of the country as of the company and stockholders, should be served by them.

Further, as inordinate and improper charges are imposed in many things, how easily can it be provided to remove them, and as opportunity offers, when the sheep have any wool, to pull it reasonably!

And as to the taxes which will be imposed upon the Commonalty by honest regents, nothing is to be done except with the increase of means to undertake, with discretion, at first, what is practicable, proper, and reasonable, and then to be content therewith.

Furthermore, to manage to reduce all high officers and their salaries, or at least to pay them so little, that they, living honestly, may do the State and the country more service.

For, hitherto, in New Netherland, over seventy thousand guilders have ordinarily been spent by the company for wages; and the income of the company has been scarcely fifty thousand guilders. Must that not go behind-hand which is not differently managed? And if the directors have quarrels about it with their masters, then the people, hardly four or five hundred men strong, will be fleeced by force. Is not every one by this means frightened off from doing any thing in New Netherland, from building up colonies, or attempting any enterprise which would result in benefit to the inhabitants of our country, both here and there?

Above all, care should be taken not to put it in the power of one person to injure a large number, and even a whole community, by a needless and unjust, yea, such a destructive war, and to bring our nation into contentions with other nations.

I dare assure the regents of the Netherlands, that if no redress be afforded to New Netherland it will go to ruin, as has already happened by bad regents so other countries which have been under the management of the company. In New Netherland they are waiting, both inhabitants and neighbors, Christians and Indians, the business of this deputation. And it will be a subject of much thought, while the government is committed to such an obstinate vagabond, whether the country will be found in the same state at

we left it; as the Indians had a sharp eye upon those who were the cause of their cruel massacre, which they have yet in their minds. They want neither the power nor the opportunity.

A. Skipper, you have talked almost all of us to sleep, with your bad news.

B. Well, if they are all asleep, I will sleep awhile. Whoever wishes more, may inquire of others. Rest, comrade, rest ye a little. It is late enough to take rest. The Provinces and the stockholders of the company, and others, private merchants, have here enough to think of, as to what has swallowed up all their subsidies and means, namely, a godless, indecent, wicked, unmannerly, and profligate government, which is known too well to all the world, and which must be redressed.

APPENDIX.

L. GRANTS license to M. to settle upon and possess N., a conquest, provided that the fullest power over the subjects who should put themselves under M. should remain with L., as should also, after the lapse of a certain number of years, all forts and fortresses.

O. thereupon agrees with M. to settle upon and possess a portion of N., pursuant to the aforesaid license, and under established privileges.

O. being a subject, although a secret councilor of L., perceiving that some particular loss, either by the ill-direction of M., or by M.'s severe burdens, or by the fraudulent administration of his particular officers, would befall him,—in order to escape the same, makes an agreement with P., an officer of Q., an absent friend of L., sent by L. from Q., for the preservation of friendship.

O. sells to P. his possessions or lands acquired in N. without informing L. or M. thereof.

P., without the knowledge of L. or M., takes full power and authority from his master Q., and means, people, ammunition, even provisions and ships from the country of L., debauches there, besides, some of the officers of M., by means of which, under the appear-

ance of wishing to trade with the inhabitants in N., takes possession of the before-mentioned purchased lands lying at the entrance of one of the best rivers in N.; where the officers of P. first began to plant vegetables, then to sow the fields, and finally to build a fort, as they have subsequently, in process of time, built seven forts upon the river, whereby the subjects of L. and M. in N., who wish to go up the river, are compelled to lie before that fort each time, so that L., contrary to his own granted license, and M., contrary to the privileges given him, come to lose their sovereign jurisdiction on the river, and all manner of harm is done to the good inhabitants of L. and M., under pain of death.

Hence arise these questions:

1. What crime or crimes has O. committed against L., M., and their subjects; and how shall, can, or must he make reparation to L., M., and their subjects?

2. What crime or crimes have P. committed, and his debauched officers, as also others who have in any degree meddled therewith; and how will they make reparation?*

Advorsum hæc et alia, implorantur

Consilia Auxilia Indicia Judicia Media Remedia	Saluberrima et Efficacissima,	si dantur in Belgio.

* The case here presented relates evidently to the encroachments of the Swedes on the Delaware.

2 Timothy, III., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 9.

1. This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come;

2. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy,

3. Without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good,

4. Traitors, heady, highminded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God,

5. Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away.

9. But they shall proceed no further; for their folly shall be manifest unto all men, as theirs also was.

Note.

The judgment against Melyn is preserved in the records at Albany. It should be read in connection with his complaint in the Breeden Raedt. It runs as follows:

Whereas Cornelis Melyn, born at Antwerp, about forty-five years of age, an inhabitant of New Amsterdam, in New Netherland, dared, as is proven by statements under oath, to oppose and violate justice, on the 2d of May, 1645, and to threaten the Director-General, Kieft, then his governor and chief magistrate, with the gallows and wheel, or, as the delinquent, prevaricating but voluntarily confessing, admitted that he said to the attorney-general and others, "They who have given such orders * may be upon their guard that they come neither to the gallows nor on the wheel," and to oppose himself further to the orders of Director Kieft, so that the Attorney-general was obliged to protest of contumacy and opposition against said Melyn: And as said Melyn is, by sundry other statements under oath at different times, convicted of abusing the court, saying, that there was no justice here; that he was not subject to the director-general; that the director-general might look after the company's servants; that he was the devil's head, with numerous mutinous and seditious words to divers soldiers and freemen, endeavoring to persuade the servants of the company to leave its service, because they would not receive their pay; that the governor was the greatest liar in the country, who gave many fair words and promises, but never performed them; and also of instigating the freemen not to pay what they owed; and of many other acts of the same kind, as is proven by various affidavits and credible witnesses, all of which were distinctly read to said Melyn; and also of robbing or endeavoring to steal from the Indians on Long Island at the beginning of the war, in which they did not participate, their corn, in a clandestine or forcible manner, on which occasion an Englishman was shot by the said Indians; which fact, notwithstanding his denial, appears from his own confession in open court on the 16th of January of this year, when he admitted that his servants, with some soldiers, planned the expedition, but against his orders; of which, however, he never made any complaint, nor informed any court of what had happened, which is sufficient proof that he connived at the transaction, and

* Orders in relation to the Indian war.

by his silence approved of it; and also of compelling the Indians on Staten Island to surrender to him a part of their hunting-grounds, as appears by statements under oath on the last day of July, 1645;—all which doings are of a pernicious tendency, leading to mutiny and rebellion, defamation of justice, and of the chief magistrate, and encouraging violence: To all this must be added that he, Melyn, with one Jochem Petersen Kuyter, conceived and wrote a letter on the 28th of October, 1644, in the name of the eight elect men, which they copied, signed, and sent to the Honorable Directors of the West India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam, as calumnious as false, wherein they, in most false and scandalous manner, abuse and insult the Hon. Director Kieft, then their governor and chief magistrate, as may be seen and read in the original,—the which being examined and investigated at the request of the aforesaid Director Kieft, We declare that said letter is false in its principal points, as is confirmed by his voluntary confession, by the evidence of as many as fifteen others, and by the declarations and answers of several who signed the letter: *Whereupon* the attorney-general instituted proceedings against the said Melyn, and convicted him of having committed the crime of defamation against the court and justice, and falsehood in writing, and consequently of being guilty of the crime of *læsæ majestatis.* All which facts, proofs, and documents having been examined, and every part duly considered by the Hon. Director and Council, It is their opinion that such misdeeds are of the most serious and alarming consequences under any well-regulated government, where they ought not and cannot be tolerated, but ought to be exemplarily punished; Wherefore the director-general, Petrus Stuyvesant, with the advice of the members of his council, administering justice in the name and in behalf of their High and Mighty Lords, the States General, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Noble Directors of the privileged West India Company, does condemn the aforesaid Cornelis Melyn to be banished for seven years from the limits of the jurisdiction of New Netherland, to depart with the first sailing vessel, revoking and withdrawing all benefices, pretensions, and honors which he owed to said directors, and in addition sentencing him to pay an amend of three hundred Carolus guilders, to be distributed, one-third to the poor, one-third to the church, and one-third to the attorney-general, and rejecting the other parts of the said attorney's conclusions. *Done in Council in Fort Amsterdam, 23d July,* 1647. (Sd.) P. Stuyvesandt, L. van Dincklage, Brian Newton, Pouwelis Leenders van der Grift, Jan Claessen Boll.

The judgment against Kuyter follows that of Melyn in the record, under the date of 25th July, 1647.

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